

# NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND DECOLONIZATION

**ABSTRACT**

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

**Doctor of Philosophy**

IN

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

BY

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## ABSTRACT

The present work entitled, "Non-aligned Movement and Decolonization" is an endeavour to discuss the role played by the Non-aligned Movement in the process of decolonization in different parts of the world.

Chapter I, entitled "Concept and Objectives of Non-Alignment", attempts to define the concept of non-alignment as it was understood and elaborated by Nehru, Tito, Nasser and other pioneers of the Non-aligned Movement. It also deals with principles and objectives of the Movement that were adopted at the First Summit Conference of non-aligned countries held at Belgrade in 1961.

Chapter II, entitled "Development of Non-Alignment" deals with the background and history of Non-aligned Movement. It also describes in detail the stand taken and the resolutions adopted on issues relating to decolonization in general and those concerned with specific colonies at different Summit conferences and meetings of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM.

Chapters III - IX are concerned with the history of colonization in different regions of the world, the struggles of the people of the colonies to emancipate themselves from foreign rule and the role played by the Non-aligned Movement in this regard. Countries of different regions have been classified into the following three categories:

1. Those which were already free when the First Summit Conference of Non-aligned countries was held at Belgrade in 1961.
2. Countries which gained freedom after the First NAM Summit; and
3. Countries which are still under foreign yoke.

Chapter III, entitled "Non-aligned Movement and Decolonization in Asia" deals with the process of decolonization in the continent of Asia. Countries which were already free before the First NAM Summit in 1961 are Afghanistan, the Philippines, Pakistan, India, Korea, Sri Lanka, Burma, Laos, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Indonesia, Nepal, Malaysia and Bhutan.

Countries, which gained freedom after the Belgrade Summit held in 1961 are Singapore, Maldives, Bangladesh and Brunei.

Countries, that are still under foreign rule are none.

Chapter IV, entitled, "Non-aligned Movement and Decolonization in the Middle East and North Africa" deals with the role of NAM in the process of decolonization in the Middle East, North Africa, Yugoslavia, Cyprus and Malta.

Countries, which were already free before the First NAM Summit held in 1961, are Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Lebanon, Yugoslavia, Jordan, Syria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and Cyprus.

Countries, which gained freedom after the Belgrade Summit in 1961, are Kuwait, YAR (Sana'a), Algeria, Malta, PDRY (Aden), Oman, UAE, Qatar and Bahrain.

Countries, that are still under foreign rule are none.

Chapter V, entitled "Non-aligned Movement and Decolonization in Africa", deals with the role of NAM in the process of decolonization in Africa.

Countries, which were already free before the First NAM Summit held in 1961, are Ethiopia, Sudan, Ghana, Guinea (RFR), Benin, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Togo, Upper Volta, Cameroon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Zaire (formerly Congo), Somalia and Sierra Leone.

Countries, which gained freedom after the Belgrade Summit in 1961, are Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, Algeria, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Zambia, Gambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Equatorial Guinea, Rio-Muni, Swaziland, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Angola, Djibouti and Zimbabwe.

Countries, that are still under foreign rule, are Western Sahara, Rio Muni, Namibia and South Africa.

Chapter VI, entitled "Non-aligned Movement and Decolonization in Latin America", deals with the role of NAM in the process of decolonization in Central America and South America.

Countries which were already free before the First NAM Summit held in 1961, are Mexico, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Cuba, Haiti and all the ten South American states.

Countries, which gained freedom after the Belgrade Summit in 1961, are Belize, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Guyana and Surinam.

Country, which is still under foreign rule, is French Guiana.

Chapter VII, entitled, "Non-aligned Movement and Decolonization in the Caribbean Sea", deals with the role of NAM in the process of decolonization in the Caribbean Sea islands.

None of the territories were free before the First NAM Summit held in Belgrade in 1961, except Dominican Republic.

Territories, which gained independence after the Belgrade Summit in 1961, are Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Bahamas, Bermuda, Grenada, Dominica and Haiti, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenadines, Antigua and Barbuda and St. Kitts-Nevis (St. Christopher-Nevis).

Territories, which are still colonies, are Guadeloupe, Martinique, Antigua, Turks and Caicos, British Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, US Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands and Montserrat.

Chapter VIII, entitled "Non-aligned Movement and Decolonization in the Pacific" deals with the role of NAM in the process of decolonization in the Pacific Ocean islands.

Territories, which were already free before the First NAM Summit held in Belgrade in 1961, are French Polynesia, New Caledonia and Tahiti (Society Islands).

Territories, which gained freedom after the Belgrade Summit in 1961, are Western Samoa, Cook Islands, Nauru, Fiji, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Tuvalu, American Samoa, Northern Mariana Islands, Solomon, Federated States of Micronesia, Marshalls, Banaba (Ocean Islands),



Kiribati (Gilbert), Vanuatu (New Hebrides), Palau and Caroline.

Territories, that are still under foreign rule and demanding independence, are Tokelau, Torres Strait, Eastern Islands and Timor.

Territories, which became province of Indonesia and USA are Irian Jaya and Hawaii respectively.

Territories, which are still colonies, are Guam, Norfolk Islands, Pitcarin, External Territories of USA, Australia and France, and Micronesia.

Chapter IX, entitled "Non-aligned Movement and Decolonization in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean Islands", deals with the role of NAM in the process of decolonization in the Atlantic Ocean and Indian Ocean islands.

Madagascar (Malagasy) was the only territory, which became free before the First NAM Summit held in Belgrade in 1961.

Territories, which gained freedom after the Belgrade Summit in 1961, are Mauritius, Malta, Comoros, Mayotte and Seychelles.

Territories, which are still colonies, are St. Helena, Falkland Island (Malvinas), Reunion, Christmas Islands and Cocos (Keeling) Islands.

From the foregoing account of the role played by the Non-aligned Movement in bringing about decolonization, it may be concluded that it inspired the people of former colonies to fight for their emancipation; it lent moral and political support to such struggles through its resolutions and declarations. The NAM also extended indirect assistance to struggles against colonialism through the part played by its member nations in the United Nations and other international forums and by urging upon them to render material support to these struggles. It may, therefore, be stated that NAM has been able to contribute substantially to the process of the eradication of colonialism in spite of the handicaps from which it suffers, viz. the fact that it has no agency to be in a position to enforce its

resolutions, that many of its member nations have close ties with one super power or the other and that many of them are involved in mutual disputes over one issue or another.

However, in spite of these limitations, the Non-aligned Movement has emerged as a potent force which has contributed and is likely to contribute to the process of decolonization.

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Decolonization", under my supervision.

In my opinion the thesis is satisfactory enough for  
submission to examiners for evaluation.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'S.A.H. Bilgrami'.  
S.A.H. Bilgrami

DEDICATED

TO

MY DEAR FATHER, MR. ALI SHADLY, LOVING MOTHER,

KIND BROTHERS AND SISTERS

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## PREFACE

Decolonization is a multi-faceted problem involving political, economic, social, cultural and geographical dimensions, all of which cannot be dealt in one volume. Therefore, the researcher has confined his study only to the political aspects of decolonization.

Between 1955 and 1960, the concept of non-alignment became known to the world and the struggle for independence got accelerated in all the colonies in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Pacific region and Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean islands. A large number of countries became independent after 1961, the year in which the first Non-aligned Summit Conference was held at Belgrade. The main objective of this study is to assess the contribution of the Non-aligned Movement to the process of decolonization between 1961 and 1986.

The Non-aligned countries individually, as well as, as members of the Non-aligned Movement have played a substantive role in the process of decolonization after the Second World War. In 1961, there were only 25 members of NAM, while by 1986 their number rose to 102 nations, out of a total of 159 members of the United Nations. Thus, next to the United Nations, NAM is the largest single club of nations in the world and has played a very important role by supporting movements for independence in the colonies. Non-alignment has become an accepted policy of almost all the newly independent nations and has among its adherents even the people of those small islands which are still struggling for independence.

The dependent peoples, even after their independence, continued to be under the influence of their former colonial masters. To get rid of their control, the newly independent nations demanded economic emancipation and a just international economic order. How far NAM has been successful in the fight against colonialism has been discussed in this work.

While there is a good amount of source material on the meaning, philosophy, policy and history of the Non-aligned Movement,



there is hardly any work which deals with role of the Non-aligned Movement in the process of decolonization. It is for this reason that the present researcher has chosen this topic, "Non-aligned Movement and Decolonization".

To collect material for the present study, the researcher had to depend on NAM, UN and Government publications, international year books and encyclopedias, books by eminent authors, journals, articles, newspapers and atlases.

The books, which have been extensively referred to in the present work, include NAM documents - Two Decades of Non-Alignment: Part I : Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982; and Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, Vol.II: Documents and Gatherings of the Nonaligned Countries, 1983-1986; UN publications like The Yearbook of the United Nations and Everyman's United Nations (1959, 1968); Government publications, such as, Lok Sabha Debates; yearbooks and encyclopedias like The Far East and Australasia (1988), The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements (1985), The Europa Year Book (1988), The Middle East and North Africa (1988) and Keesing's Contemporary Archives (1988); books by eminent authors like Becker's Modern Democracy, Hames's Africa Today, Sud's Decolonization to World Order, Dvorak's The Non-Aligned Countries, Mojssov's Dimensions of Non-Alignment, Banerjee's Non-Alignment Today: Challenges and Prospects, Brecher's The New States of Asia: A Political Analysis, Rahman's The Politics of Non-Alignment, Nehru's India's Foreign Policy : Selected Speeches, Karanukaran's Outside the Contest: A Study of Non-Alignment and Foreign Policies of Some Non-Aligned Countries, Black and Thompson's Foreign Policies in a World of Change, Nasser's Speeches, Willetts's The Non-Aligned Movement : The Organs of a Third World Alliance, Grabb's The Elephants and the Grass : A Study of Non-Alignment, Sengupta's Non-Alignment : Search for a Destination, Jansen's Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment, Lie's In the Cause of Peace, Jacobson's Networks of Interdependence, Mates's Non-Alignment : Theory and Current Policy; journals like International Studies, Review of International Affairs, New Times, American Political Science Review, Pacific Islands

Monthly, Wall Street Journal, Caribbean Insight, The Indian Journal of Politics and India Today; a large number of research articles; newspapers like Borba, The Times, The Pakistan Times, Listener and all the important Indian newspapers. Besides these, discussions have been held with learned academicians at Aligarh and New Delhi.

The approach of this study is historical and analytical and a sincere effort has been made in this study to evaluate the principles, policies, prospects and achievements of the Non-aligned Movement regarding decolonization.

Chapter I deals with the 'Principles and Objectives of Non-aligned Movement'. Chapter II describes the 'Development of Non-aligned Movement' from its very beginning to 1986. Chapters III IX highlight the political domination of colonial powers in the colonies, causes of emancipation, revolts and uprisings of dependent peoples, support of the Non-aligned Movement through resolutions adopted in meetings and conferences and various forms of assistance leading to decolonization of dependent territories in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Caribbean, the Pacific, Atlantic and the Indian Ocean regions.

I am deeply indebted to Professor S.A.H. Bilgrami, my Supervisor and Teacher, Ex-Chairman, Department of Political Science, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India, for his unstinted help and encouragement. He not only ~~guided~~ me on to the chiselled perspective and provided me impeccable guidelines but constantly inspired me to attain higher levels in writing and research also. It is primarily due to his precise, study, patient and affectionate guidance that I have been able to accomplish this research project.

I am also beholden to Professor A.P. Sharma, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, for his solicitude and encouragement. I am also grateful to other members of the staff of the Department, who gave me useful suggestions relating to the present study.

I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to my revered father, Mr. Ali Shadly, and brother, Mr. Ghazi Ali Shadly, for the

most generous financial and moral support I have received from them throughout the period of preparing this project. No less am I obliged to my mother, Mrs. Iqbal, and brother, Mr. Tariq Ali Shadly, and sisters, Mrs. Aziza Ali Shadly and Mrs. Farida Ali Shadly and in-laws, Mr. Shawki Khalil and Mr. Farid Kulaib, for their heartiest good wishes and prayers for my success.

I would be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratefulness to Dr. R.L. Gupta, Senior Surgeon, Safdar Jung Hospital, New Delhi, for the great help he has extended to me and the sincerity he has evinced in doing so.

My thanks are due to Dr. Mohammad Abid, Dr. Syed Asim Ali, Dr. Zaheer Anwar Khan, Mr. Qaiser Hasan Khan, Mr. Khyzir Mohammad Tunda, Mr. Shakil Ahmad, Mr. Mohammad Alam, Mr. Shamsul Hasan, Mr. Ainul Hasan, Mr. Rafiq Naqvi and Mr. M.K. Mathur, who have helped me in various ways and also to my Yemeni friends, Messrs Gamal Khalil, Adel Abdul Galil Gazem, Abdul Hakim Mashhoor and Ibrahim Badaood for their encouragement.

My thanks are also due to the Librarians of the various libraries, particularly, the Maulana Azad Library, the Seminar Libraries, Department of Political Science and Department of Geography, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh; the Documentation Centre, Indian Council of Social Science Research, Sapru House Library and Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, New Delhi, for the valuable help rendered to me.

In the end, I wish to thank Mr. Abdul Aleem Ansari, Senior Personal Assistant, Dean's Office, Faculty of Science, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, for the care he took and the patience he showed in preparing the typescript of the present work.



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## CHAPTER I

### CONCEPT AND OBJECTIVES OF THE NON-ALIGNMENT

Non-alignment may be described in three phases - (a) origins of the concept; (b) emergence of the idea in conferences and organizations, and (c) growth and development of the Movement. The idealism of Kant, Hegel and Green, the utilitarian liberalism of Bentham, Mill and Austin, the Marxian Socialism of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung enhanced the revolutionary fervour of the liberation movements throughout the world.

The Western domination of foreign far off lands aimed at maximum exploitation of the mineral and natural resources of the territories. The colonial policy and the Powers' dragon acts brought poverty and galling inequalities, challenged the social conscience and threatened the democratic principles. Carl Becker says: "Democracy does not flourish in communities on the verge of destitution"<sup>1</sup>, because power can corrupt only a few men at the top while poverty will and does corrupt the lives of the millions. As a result "the general discontent found expression in the demand for freedom from imperialism"<sup>2</sup>.

After the First World War, the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Turkey, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria suffered from severely depreciated currency, financial chaos and widespread suffering. The imperialists were the Colonial Powers in Asia, Africa, West Asia, Latin America, the Pacific and the Atlantic regions. The Russian Revolution of October, 1917, recognised the right of the people for independence from foreign domination and her 'Declaration of the Rights of Peoples' asserted the right of self-determination. The Treaty of Versailles<sup>3</sup>, signed with Germany on June 28, 1919, included

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1. Carl L. Becker, Modern Democracy (New Havens: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 12.
  2. G.G. Hames (ed.), Africa Today (Denver, Colorado: 1955), p. 294.
  3. The main framers of the Treaty were Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States; Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain; George Clamenceau, Prime Minister of France; and Orinaldo, the Italian Premier. The Treaty was based on the 14-points of President Woodrow Wilson, presented at the Peace Conference in Paris on January 25, 1919, which became an integral part of the Treaty of Peace.

the Covenant of the League of Nations, which established foreign domination on other countries under the terms of Articles 22 and 23(b) of the Covenant<sup>4</sup>. The Covenant was later replaced by the UN Trusteeship System constituted under Chaps XII and XIII of the UN Charter. The Soviet Declaration against 'Imperialism', spread the idea of independence in the colonial world and, consequently, the Cold War between the Socialist states and the Imperialist nations raised its ugly head to squeeze the blood of the innocent, backward and poor peoples. The world seemed threatened by another world war. During the 1920s, the USSR was relatively weak for some time, while the United Kingdom, the United States, France and other Western Powers continued to sustain their imperialist possessions. However, with the birth of the League of Nations, diplomacy by meetings, conferences and negotiations reached its culmination and the global problems began to be considered by this first international organization, as Wilson had hoped that "the League will act as a permanent clearing-house where every nation can come, the small as well as the great"<sup>5</sup>.

### Rise of Nationalism in India

The world has been greatly influenced by the Indian nationalism making a permanent impact on freedom struggle in subject countries. The Indian nationalism is based on the ideas, mainly, of Gandhi and Nehru, who were firmly committed to the principle of Ahimsa, but differed on such basic issues as the character and extent of mass movement and socialism. Gandhi, a saintly politician, a democratic and tolerant character, had realised during the second decade of the twentieth century that unless social forces could be roused and mobilised, the political movement would never be able to make the British Raj move<sup>6</sup>. To strengthen the social forces, Gandhi laid stress on Sarvodaya and Nehru on socialism. Gandhi ignored the social history in terms of class struggle, while Nehru appreciated the importance of

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4. Usha Sud, Decolonization to World Order (New Delhi: National Publishing House, 1983), p. 2.

5. (Mrs.) E.B. Wilson, Memoirs of Mrs. Woodrow Wilson (New York: 1939), p. 286.

6. 'Gandhi-Nehru Legacy and Indira Gandhi', in D.P. Chattopadhyaya, 77th Plenary Session - Indian National Congress (Calcutta: 1983), p. 45.

class conflict as the main source of social transformation, which identifies him as a leader and the spokesman of militant nationalism. Nehru was a contrast to Bose. While Nehru's hero was Gandhi that of Bose was Kamal Pasha, who led Turkey, revolting against the Caliphate. Bose, disillusioned with the concept of Ahimsa and Satyagraha, thought in terms of armed revolution and collaboration with foreign powers. Communal nationalism also emerged with the founding of the Muslim League in India in 1906 and the demand for Pakistan in 1940. Thus, there were several forces of nationalism in India - Gandhi's peaceful change, Nehru's radical change, Bose's revolutionary change and Jinnah's communal change. All these groups expounded the principles of decolonization - "Anti-imperialism, demand for complete independence, secularism, and anti-untouchability"<sup>7</sup>.

The American colonies were greatly inspired by Gandhi's speeches in South Africa, which injected the people with anti-colonial spirit. In 1927, Nehru, on behalf of the All-India Congress Committee, attended the International Congress Against Imperialism, which stressed national independence against imperialism. The imperialists were then the masters of a large number of colonies in the world and alienation from the imperialist sphere, if not impossible, was very difficult as the resources for technological and economic development and security were in their hands. In such hard days, India sowed the seeds of independent foreign policy in its resolutions from 1920s to 1940s. Therefore, during the Second World War, opposition of the Congress to the Axis Powers<sup>8</sup> did not mean support to the imperialism and exploitation of the colonies. History witnessed that living against super powers was to invite continuous dangers for own existence. Mahatma Gandhi stated: "India wants to be independent of everybody who wants to own this country. We do not want a change of masters. We want to be masters on our soil"<sup>9</sup>. These words characterise the political foundation of Non-alignment. With this view, Nehru felt that "the burden of

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7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Attar Chand, Nonaligned States: A Great Leap Forward ( Delhi: UDH Publishers, 1983), p. 200.

freedom was heavier than that of the imperialist rule". To come out of imperialist group, Nehru fearlessly planned to remove the curses of illiteracy, malnutrition, superstition and bigotry, poverty and unemployment. He convened an Asian Relations Conference in Delhi in March, 1947, and discussing common problems, advised the policy of Non-alignment. Nehru's steps were becoming guide to the subject peoples who were intensifying their freedom struggle, sacrificing their life and property.

On December 4, 1947, Nehru, in the Constituent Assembly, proclaimed:<sup>11</sup>

"We will not attach ourselves to any particular group. That has nothing to do with the neutrality or passivity ... We have sought to avoid foreign entanglement by joining one bloc or the other. The natural result has been that neither of these big blocs look on us with favour".

Gandhi believed in the supreme power of non-violence and the futility of war as the means for settling disputes between nations as continuous reinforced violence is required to retain the fruits of violence, which forms a vicious circle. This principle marked the basic features of non-alignment, opposition to military pacts, peaceful co-existence, good neighbourly relations, anti-colonialism, special ties with the developing countries of Asia and Africa and the quest for peace and disarmament. According to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the non-aligned policy of India is rooted in the teachings of Gandhi and Nehru. Referring to Nehru, she said: "He believed that in a world rent by conflict, freedom, not fear, faith, not doubt, confidence, not suspicion, would lead to friendship amongst the nations".<sup>12</sup>

#### Big and Small Powers' Aspirations

The Cold War has entered the nuclear age and the problem of War and Peace has become a concern of all nations - independent or subject. The Big Powers try to dominate the economic resources of the developing countries and the latter, in turn, try to get rid of

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10. D.P. Chattopadhyaya, n.6, p. 45.

11. Ibid., p. 46.

12. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Speech delivered at the General Assembly of the United Nations, October 14, 1968.



their influence. The Big Powers need to continue their exploitation of other lands so as to finance their war projects and to save their countries from foreign attack. All the nations are fearful of possible invasion by other nation. As fear begets fears and suspicion breeds suspicion, the increasing tension and occasional local wars induce the small nations to arm themselves for defence. With this object, the developing nations spend disproportionately large sums of money on armament resulting in reduction in developmental expenditure, which, by and large, creates problems of poverty, disease and unemployment. The small nations have limited resources and, thus, their huge expense on war preparedness affects their economy. Contrary to it, the big or rich nations are least affected as the big industries export war materials a lot with high profit and purchase raw materials from poor nations at the lowest prices. When the poor nations protest against the low prices of their raw materials, the rich nations get together and take an extremely negative decision. Thus, the rich nations become richer and the poor nations become poorer. This gap has been increasing and the poor nations have been very much indebted to rich nations, coming under the strong grip of neo-colonialism. If the poor nations seek financial assistance from international agencies, like UNCTAD, GATT, UNDP, UNESCO and the World Bank, the developed nations, having hold on these, adopt a repressive policy, denying funds to those who do not kneel before them and granting those who fall in line. Thus, a great tussle between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' continuously grows. Addressing the Second Conference<sup>13</sup> of UNCTAD at New Delhi in February, 1968, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said:

"Today the rich nations find it more rewarding to invest their savings in their own security, in the advance of their technology, or even in establishing contacts with distant planets ... Thus the gap keeps growing ... Responsibility for development must primarily be shouldered by the developing nations themselves ... The question before the advanced nations is not whether they could afford to help the developing nations, but whether they can afford not to do so".

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13. D.P. Chattopadhyaya, n. 6, p. 47.

## Rise of Freedom Movements in the World

With the rise of nationalism with slogans of equality, fraternity, democracy, right to self-determination and independence, there were constant occurrences of insurgencies, uprisings and demonstrations launched by the subject peoples. Faced with the growing opposition of the colonial peoples and their demand for independence, the Colonial Powers intensified their acts of sabotage and aggression to continue their rule and to exploit the natural and mineral resources of the territories. The Colonialists were strong countries - Britain, France, Germany, Spain, United States, Portugal, Belgium and Italy. The people resisted as much as possible to defend their sovereignty and independence, but they fell to the European superiority in arms and administration. It would be interesting to trace the imprints of freedom struggles which were in progress in different parts of the globe. The colonies in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Central America and South Africa were under 'Free Lance' and the order of the day was a state "where might was right and the stronger devoured the weaker ones"<sup>14</sup>. In the confused politics of the day, the Colonisers succeeded in establishing their domination. The causes of their success<sup>15</sup> were that the indigenous army was unskilled, undisciplined and unorganised; the Colonisers had superior technology of arms and way of war; they could recruit the soldiers from the indigenous population to fight against their own countrymen; and they could enjoy political and commercial gains, taking sides of the warring local princes.

The political developments in the world, which led to the freedom struggle, emancipation of the people and spread of the idea of non-alignment are briefly stated below:

### ASIA

Afghanistan<sup>16</sup>, after Anglo-Afghan wars, had become independent

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14. R.C. Majumdar, The Sepoy Mutiny and Revolt of 1857 (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1957), p. 1.

15. Ibid., p. 2.

16. See for details, Ivo Dvorak, The Non-Aligned Countries (London: Harney and Jones, etc., 1982), p. 17.

in 1919, but was under British influence. In Bahrain<sup>17</sup>, in 1935, the British established military base, which provoked the people against the British colonial rule. In Burma<sup>18</sup>, the Thakins launched independence movement. In Cyprus<sup>19</sup>, in 1931, the rebellion of the Greek Orthodox Church was crushed. In India<sup>20</sup>, the Indian National Congress led by Gandhi and Nehru; the Muslim League, led by Jinnah; and the Indian National Army formed by Subhas Chandra Bose, were pressurising the Crown for independence. Many countries of Asia and Africa drew inspiration from the non-violent non-cooperation freedom struggle launched by Gandhi with the unarmed Indians against the mighty British Power. In Indonesia<sup>21</sup>, the National Indonesian Party, led by Sukarno, was demanding independence. In Iraq<sup>22</sup>, the Treaty of October, 1932, which determined the methods of British domination over the country, was violently opposed by the Iraqis. The British had a strong military base at Habbaniya. In Kampuchea<sup>23</sup>, the Communist Party of Indo-China was the vanguard of revolutionary movements against the French colonialists. In Korea(PDR), the Korean Communist Party led peasants' and workers' insurrections in 1931 and 1932 against Japan's occupation of the territory. In Laos<sup>25</sup>, during 1930s, the Communist Party of Indo-China fought against French imperialism, for regaining independence and giving the land to the peasants. In Maldives<sup>26</sup>, the Sultan was forced to sign a treaty in 1887, accepting British rule, which caused discontent among the masses. In Nepal<sup>27</sup>, as the Ranas were running a puppet government under British care and those who opposed were brutally killed, insurgent movements were coming up during 1930s. In Sri Lanka<sup>28</sup>, the people were struggling continuously for share in the administration and though a constitution was promulgated in 1931, they continued their demand for independence. In Syria<sup>29</sup>, there were popular uprisings against the French domination and suspension of constitution in 1939. In Vietnam<sup>30</sup>, the Communist Party of Indo-China founded by Ho Chi Minh, intensified the struggle for freedom against the French colonialists, and the Japanese aggressors in 1939 and 1945 respectively.

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17-30. Ibid., pp. 17, 63, 99, 189, 287, 297, 327, 361, 379, 395, 455, 513, 643, 671 and 729 respectively.

## NORTH AMERICA AND CENTRAL AMERICA

In Cuba<sup>31</sup>, after the Seroeants' Rebellion on September 4, 1933, a Provisional Revolutionary Government was formed followed by brutal assassination of Guiteras in May, 1935, which caused a political upheaval. People's armed resistance was crushed. In Grenada<sup>32</sup>, after the First World War, there was a great economic depression, which led the workers to form trade unions. The memory of Julien Fedon, who led the uprisings of black slaves and freemen in 1795-96, and who was hanged by the British, always inspired the people for freedom. In Jamaica<sup>33</sup>, during 1930s, economic problem grew with the independence movement and trade unionism grew out of riots and unrest. In Nicaragua<sup>34</sup>, the United States was determined to rule indirectly. The nationalist leader, Sandino, with an army of several hundred men encountered the US troops in more than 500 clashes and battles. The United States, under the Boxthorn Pact (May 4, 1927) with the local liberal and conservative bourgeoisie, helped Garcia and installed his associate, Sacasa, as President. When Sandino came for discussion with the liberals, he was assassinated on the orders of the US Embassy and, thus, Garcia was in power from 1933 to 1956, when he was assassinated. There was always a strong opposition party against the US policies, which aimed to dominate the territory. The freedom struggle of the Nicaraguans influenced the whole of the American territories. In Panama<sup>35</sup>, since its separation from Colombia and proclamation of independence on November 3, 1904, the United States dominated the territory, imposed harsher conditions and cession of its sovereignty over the canal and the adjacent zone "in perpetuity" under a treaty and installed military bases, which posed a constant threat to Latin America. The people revolted against the US impositions and asserted that "the geographical position of our country is our principal natural resource".

## SOUTH AMERICA

In Argentina<sup>36</sup>, there was a political crisis during 1930s. In 1918, the Communist Party of Argentina was formed. In 1930, Yrigoyen

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31-36. Ibid., pp. 155, 255, 345, 519, 561 and 47 respectively.

were overthrown and military broke into the political life and General Jose Felix Uriburu came to power through electoral fraud. The country suffered from economic crisis. All these factors strengthened the revolutionary movements for freedom. In Guyana<sup>37</sup>, due to British suppression and killings, the inhabitants left the region. The British recruited workers on contract from China, Portugal and India in 1917, and created a new form of slavery. During 1930s, they demanded higher pay. Their movement was brutally suppressed. There was rebellion demanding independence from time to time.

## EUROPE

In Malta<sup>38</sup>, the British granted relative autonomy to the people only to be revoked ten years later after popular demands and insurrections in 1921. In Russia<sup>39</sup>, the USSR government, headed by Lenin, was established on November 7, 1917. In 1918, banks, insurance companies, large industries, mines, water transport and railways were nationalised. The Declaration of the Rights of Peoples conferred the right of self-determination upon all nationalities, which began a new era of socialism. The socialist ideal, "from each according to his capacity, to each according to his work" eliminated glaring inequalities in the society. Under the Economic Planning, industrialization taken up by the Government accelerated the economic, educational, cultural and scientific development at a very fast rate. Further, the constitution drafted in 1923 and later in 1935, assured equality to all the non-Russian nationalities which transformed the colonial subjection into emancipation. The popularity of socialism helped to mitigate discriminations based on race, colour and sex. Socialist ideas promoted universality and internationalism, which led to campaigns to put an end to imperialism, and to struggle for independence of all nations from foreign yoke. In Yugoslavia<sup>40</sup>, the revolutionary forces, influenced by the great Socialist Revolution of October, 1917, founded the Yugoslav

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37. Ibid., p. 279.

38. Ibid., p. 465.

39. The November 7 revolution is known as October Revolution because of the corresponding date of the old Russian calendar, October 25.

40. See for further details, Ivo Dvorak, n. 16, n. 763.

Communist Party (YCP), which won 59 seats in the Constituent Assembly and was banned by the Government in 1920. As a result, struggle between the people and the government intensified. In 1929, the Yugoslav King declared by force absolute dictatorship, banned the trade unions and arrested and murdered the Communists and changed the name of the country to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The YCP grew in strength against the fascist regime. In 1937, Josip Broz Tito assumed the leadership of the YCP and formed a new Central Committee. Further, the YCP and the Union of Communist Youth, in the middle of 1938, began training their members in the use of weapons and military tactics.

## AFRICA

Algeria<sup>41</sup> struggled since promulgation of the Native Code. The deportation of Emir Khaled in 1923 was followed by emergence of various organizations in 1939 which openly struggled against colonial oppression. In Angola<sup>42</sup>, the first political organizations to fight against the Portuguese colonial domination and to win freedom were formed between 1910 and 1920s, and the upsurge continued until 1930s. Brundi<sup>43</sup>, the Belgian mandate, was influenced by freedom movements in Congo. In Cameroon<sup>44</sup>, autonomist sentiments and national ideas developed during 1930s. As Cape Verde<sup>45</sup> was exploited unchecked, it became a desert and people either migrated to other lands or suffered from famines. There was great unrest in the 20th century. In Central African Republic<sup>46</sup>, the Baya and Ubangi tribes rebelled against French exploitation, but were brutally crushed. In Chad<sup>47</sup>, after the First World War, nationalist movement against French colonialism was growing. In Congo<sup>48</sup>, due to death of thousands of Africans forcibly engaged in the construction of the Congo-Ocean Railway line under inhuman living and working conditions added fuel to the fire of discontent, disturbances and revolts against the French. Egypt<sup>49</sup>, under the 1936 Special Treaty, was under the heels of the British. Egypt was then ruled by the corrupt millionaire King Farouk. Equatorial Guinea<sup>50</sup> was under a harsh Spanish rule during 1778-1968, and nationalist uprisings were crushed. Ethiopia<sup>51</sup> was invaded by Mussolini (Italy) in 1935, backed by Britain and France and Haile Selassie's appeal to the League of Nations proved useless.

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41-51. Ibid., pp. 23, 37, 107, 113, 119, 125, 131, 145, 206, 217 and 221 respectively.

There were intensive demonstrations. In 1937, the commander of the Italian troops in Addis Ababa was killed, which followed the notorious massacre of thousands of Ethiopians. In Ghana<sup>52</sup>, the invasion of fascist Italy (1935-37) intensified pan-African liberation movements in British colony. In Grenada<sup>53</sup>, after the First World War, workers' trade unions were formed to fight against British exploitation. In Guinea<sup>54</sup> (RPR), since the arrest of Almamy Samory Toure, who fought against the French domination for eighteen years, and his death in 1900, there was always a great unrest and discontent among the people. In Guinea-Bissau<sup>55</sup>, the people always resisted the Portuguese rule in different ways for independence. In Ivory Coast<sup>56</sup>, though rebel tribes were subdued until 1912, there was always discontent against the French rule. In Kenya<sup>57</sup>, during 1930s, Kenyatta's Kikuyu Central Association was outlawed but freedom struggle was in full swing. In Lesotho<sup>58</sup>, the British disarmed the masses and appointed the local chiefs as Governors of their tribes who were controlled by British officials. The indirect forced rule and intensive exploitation of natural resources caused uprising and demand for national autonomy. Libya<sup>59</sup>, in 1922, was divided into three zones to suppress the uprisings and, in 1931, the rebel leader, Omar Mukhtar, who lived in the mountains, was killed. As the population suffered from racial persecution and social and economic retrogression, there were revolts against the Italians. In Madagascar<sup>60</sup>, after the deportation of Queen Ranaivalona II, and the 'Pacification' programme, uprisings cost lives of about 7,00,000 people and progressive movements during 1916, 1929 and 1930s resulted in the death of about 1,00,000 people. However, there were continuous large-scale demonstrations against the brutal repression unleashed by the French authorities. In Malawi<sup>61</sup>, the first spark of independence struck under the leadership of John Chilembwe in 1915. There was revolt against the British. Mauritius<sup>62</sup> was being influenced by the freedom movements in India and Sri Lanka during 1930s. In Morocco<sup>63</sup>, the French sowed the seed of discord and issued a Berber Decree demonstrations against which were brutally suppressed on May 16, 1930, observed still as a day of sorrow. Later political parties were formed which

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52-63. Ibid., pp. 247, 255, 263, 271, 339, 371, 417, 427, 435, 445, 477 and 483 respectively.

were declared illegal. However, the masses continued the freedom struggle. In Mozambique<sup>64</sup>, the Portuguese pursued a true colonial policy against resistance of the people. Namibia (earlier South West Africa) was a German colony, which, after the First World War, was placed under the mandate of South Africa as its integral part. In 1933, South African Government pressed the League of Nations to permit its annexation to South Africa, but the League's Mandate Commission turned down the request. During 1930s, popular unrest against foreign rule was growing. In Niger<sup>65</sup>, though the people of Air and Tibesti strongly resisted, the French occupied the territory by force of arms in 1921, and deprived the people of fundamental rights, which created great abhorrence and discontent against the foreign rule. In Nigeria, though the north did not cherish ideas of modernisation, the educated and intellectuals of the south demanded electoral representation in the Legislative Council and freedom of the country. In Rwanda<sup>66</sup>, a popular uprising, in 1928, was crushed by Belgian forces. In St. Lucia<sup>67</sup>, after 1938, there was continued unrest against British domination. In Sao Tome, Principe and Annobon<sup>68</sup>, there were signs of growing unrest against the Portuguese. In Senegal<sup>69</sup>, since Lat Dior was killed in 1886, the people had become conscious of the French exploitation of their country's resources; but they had no united force to fight for independence. In Sierra Leone<sup>70</sup>, the British imposed heavy taxes as rebellions broke out led by Bai Bureh and Poro Secret Society. The British consolidated their power to suppress the revolts. In Somalia<sup>71</sup>, there was always fighting against the Italians in different parts of the area with greater or lesser success. In Sudan, in 1924, the British Governor and several Egyptian battalions were killed. As a result, Egyptian forces were withdrawn, and Britain took over Sudan under direct and strict control. In Swaziland<sup>72</sup>, the Swazi King Sobhuza I known as "The Lion", demanded, in 1921, the restitution of his right to the country's mineral wealth. In Tanzania<sup>73</sup>, although the Maji-Maji rebellion, in 1905, was suppressed by the Germans, killing 1,20,00 Africans, their resistance continued. In 1929, intellectuals formed a Tanganyika African Association to fight for independence. Toqo<sup>74</sup>.

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64-74. Ibid., pp. 493, 527, 579, 585, 591, 609, 625, 635, 667, 683 and 691 respectively.



after the First World War, was divided between Britain and France. The "Cry of Togo", the nationalist daily, and the Circle of Friends of France, founded in 1936, condemned many forms of French repression, demanded reunification of the country and independence. In Tunisia<sup>75</sup>, nationalism emerged in the beginning of the twentieth century and in 1933, political parties became very active for independence. In Zaire<sup>76</sup>, after the Betatele revolt, the Force Publique killed between 1890 and 1904, about 30,00,000 Africans. The Colonial Code (1908) caused rebellions, which the Belgians suppressed by force. In 1931, hundreds of Congolese were murdered and prisoners were executed without trial in front of women and children. As a result, riots broke out and 4,000 Congolese took up arms to overthrow the Belgian domination. In Zambia<sup>77</sup>, the British faced stiff resistance and between 1911 and 1935, several political parties emerged to fight for freedom. In Zimbabwe<sup>78</sup>, after the British crushed the uprising and killed the King Lobengula in 1893, they deprived the people of voting and occupied the best lands of the people using them as cheap labour. Due to constant British repression, the people of the land were compelled to revolt.

### Wave of Emancipation

From the end of the nineteenth century until the Second World War, colonialism was at its height and European powers struggled for stabilising their rule in the colonies. The uprisings of the indigenous peoples were manifest. To counter their resistance, they opened schools, constructed roads and railway lines. Thus, Western education spread the ideas of nationalism and philosophies of European nations. The transport and communication systems helped the colonial people contact each other and to exchange views. When indigenous men, educated in Europe, returned they brought new ideas. They told the people that foreign domination was not ordained by heaven. As a result, many religious and social reformists began to work for revival of their old culture, making the people conscious of their glorious heritage. In view of the culture, education, government and industrialization, the colonies found themselves very backward. The people

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75-78. Ibid., pp. 701, 771, 783 and 791 respectively.

79. Usha Sud, n. 4, p. 20.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid., p. 21.

loved their own cultural heritage and waged war with the Colonial Powers with more fervour and patriotism. This attitude was not expected by the rulers. Further, the Europeans also questioned the "justness of such domination"<sup>83</sup> over far off countries, and criticised the repressive measures in Parliaments, being a matter of shame in the eyes of the world. The colonial rulers perceived the future in the rising discontent and realised that colonialism or imperialism would no longer prevail. But as the colonies were the producers of raw material, minerals, oil and other things for their parent industries and were profitable markets of their exports, they treated the colonies as "golden birds" and were not willing at any cost to let them slip from their hands save when they were forced to do so.

The people identified the causes of their poverty, hunger, ignorance, ruthless exploitation, discrimination and backwardness in the social and economic development, while the developed countries extracted every advantage from the subject and colonial position of vast majority of mankind. The problems of dependent countries needed urgent acceleration of economic and social development for which the nationalists even took up arms against the colonialists. The Anglo-Afghan Wars (1842-1919), uprisings in Libya against its division (1922), rebellion of the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus (1931), PLO resistance against Israel and rebellion of Poro Secret Society in Sierra Leone (1924), armed struggle in Namibia against South Africa and heroic resistance by A.C. Sandino against the US forces (1925-26), Berbers' and Arabs' demonstrations against the French due to the Berber Decree (1930), rebellion of the Pende Tribe in Zaire (1931) when 4,000 Congolese took up arms to overthrow the Belgians, peasants' insurrections against Japan in Korea (1931-32), Sergeants' Rebellion in Cuba (1933), resistance against invasion of fascist Italy (1935-37), killing of the Commander of the Italian troops (1937), Tito's leadership of the YCP, training the members in the use of weapons (1938) and his speeches in 1944 on the island of Vis and the liberated city of Belgrade and

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83. Ibid. The British treated the far off colonies as the "Brightest Jewel".

in 1945 in Ljubljana and Skopje; Bose's formation of the Indian National Army (1944), the Railway Workers Strike in Zimbabwe (1948) and freedom struggle led by Julius K. Nyerere in Tanzania (1953) reinforced the process of emancipation and opened new prospects for international action and insurgencies of the peoples against colonizers.

### The Second World War

Hitler, disregarding the Treaty of Versailles, occupied Rhineland and Austria. England and France adopting the policy of appeasement signed the Munich Pact (1938) with him as they wanted the Nazis to destroy the Soviet Union. Germany, disregarding the Pact, occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia, instead of a part of it called Sudetenland. In August, 1939, Germany concluded a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union, the traditional foe of Nazism. Britain and France had guaranteed Poland for its independence. On September 1, Hitler invaded Poland. Therefore, England and France, being allies of Poland, declared war against Germany. Germany occupied Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium in quick succession. In June, 1940, Italy joined Germany. Germany attacked the Soviet Union disregarding the non-aggression pact. Germany captured the Balkans, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and large parts of North Africa<sup>84</sup>, and started bombing England in August. In the meantime, British-Soviet-American unity was signed and, on the other hand, Germany-Italy-Japan agreement aimed to establish a new world order. Italy had occupied Ethiopia and Albania. Japan attacked Pearl Harbour (Hawaii) and destroyed 20 US warships and 250 aircraft killing 300 people. Therefore, the United States declared war against Japan on December 8, 1941. Japan swiftly conquered Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Hong-Kong and the Dutch Indies. On January 1, 1942, twenty-six nations, including Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, signed the United Nations<sup>85</sup> Declaration, for fighting against the fascists in cooperation with one another and not to make any separate peace treaty. In August, 1942, the Germans

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84. Arjun Dev, The Story of Civilization (New Delhi: National Council of Educational Research and Training, Rep. July, 1980), Vol.II, p. 285.

85. The term "United Nations" came to be used after this Declaration, as was suggested by President Roosevelt.

were defeated by the Russians at Stalingrad. The Americans pushed back the Italians, who surrendered in 1943, and France was liberated in 1944. The Russians advanced from the East towards Berlin. At last the Germans laid down their arms on May 7, 1945. The Americans to take revenge, dropped atom bomb on Hiroshima<sup>86</sup> on August 6, 1945, killing 78,150 people, and another on Nagasaki<sup>87</sup> on August 10, 1945, while the Japanese might have been repulsed by the Allied forces. On August 10, 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally.

On the question of distribution of territories of the Axis Powers, the Allies split into two groups - Socialist and Communist led by the Soviet Union and China, and Imperialist and Colonialist led by the Big Three - the United States, Britain and France. The Big Five could not cooperate in securing world peace. During the war, General de Gaulle in France, Marshall Tito in Yugoslavia, Premier Winston Churchill in Britain, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the United States, and Premier Stalin in USSR, advocated permanent peace in the world. The need of a peace organisation also became imperative due to freedom struggles in all the subject countries which had condemned the Nazi fascist aggression and sided with the Allies, supporting with men and material in the hope that they would be liberated in view of the various declarations for maintaining peace and freedom in the world after the war.<sup>88</sup>

### Impact of the Second World War

The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki opened a new road to international rivalry. Nuclear fission was a landmark in the development of weaponry for war and destruction. The world was appalled<sup>89</sup> by this

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86. M.R. Ray, A Brief Survey of World History (New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1967), p. 421. See also Arjun Dev, n. 84, p. 289, mentioning the date as August 7, 1945.
87. M.R. Ray, *Ibid.*; also see Arjun Dev, n. 84, p. 290, mentioning the date as August 14, 1945.
88. Everyman's United Nations : A Complete Handbook of the Activities of the United Nations During its First Twenty Years, 1945-1965 (New York: UN, Office of the Public Information, 8th edn., March, 1968), p. 5.
89. See for details of the 20-kiloton (20,000 trinitrotoluois (TNT) bomb dropped and its destructive power, Military Encyclopedia, Vol. III, p. 470, and Vol. IV, p. 684.

minor "dress rehearsal"<sup>90</sup>, which pales when compared to the terrifying destructive power of modern nuclear weapons in the super powers' nuclear arsenal, which can destroy the whole world many times. These incidents forced the world to take measures to end the new arms and technology race and to eliminate all-destructive and self-destructive weapons, which could be used for subjugating the entire world. The monopoly of nuclear weapons, ambitious programmes for perfection of nuclear weapons, big powers' rivalry in making other nations their "nuclear partners" to maintain "balance of power" and their effect on international relations led our planet towards the cold war<sup>91</sup>. The refusal of the developing nations to join either of the Big Powers established a status quo between the nuclear powers, as they were afraid of the rival nuclear attack. This dilemma made the world majority combat the nuclear danger in case of conflict. They thought of "a genuine universal system of peace, based on security and equality of all states and nations"<sup>92</sup> on the mechanism of cooperation, solidarity and mutual assistance.

Some of the colonies, which became independent, engaged in local wars and armed interventions. The super powers helped them with economic and military aid and tried to exert different forms of pressure on them and, on the pretext of restoring peace and order, they intervened in the internal affairs<sup>93</sup>. These situations were gravely realized by the colonial people and the process of anti-colonial revolutions, decolonisation and internal transformation of newly liberated states started. Anti-colonial liberation movements in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, as well as in southern Europe and the Mediterranean region brought the world to the stage of constant upheaval<sup>94</sup> to achieve national independence in different ways - from peaceful acquisition of power to violent resistance and anti-colonial destructive wars<sup>95</sup>. The Colonial Powers used the most brutal kind of military

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90. Lazar Mojsov, Dimensions of Non-Alignment (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska Stvarnost, 1981), p. 12.

91. Ibid., p. 13.

92. Ibid., p. 14.

93. Predrag Vukovic, Armed Interventions (Belgrade: Minove Sveske, 1979), pp. 167-71.

94. Lazar Mojsov, n. 90, p. 16.

95. Ibid.

intervention to curb the nationalist move. However, the Chinese revolution, establishment of popular rule in a number of East European countries, collapse of Fascists, Nazis and Japanese, who threatened the worst type of enslavement of the world, and victory of the Axis powers changed the entire structure of international relations. Socialism became a universal process and a number of states in different parts of the globe emerged and opted for socialism.<sup>96</sup>

### The United Nations Organisation

On August 14, 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met "somewhere at sea" and their joint declaration, known as the Atlantic Charter, promised to "afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries" and assured all "freedom from fear and want"<sup>97</sup>. On January 1, 1942, representatives of 26 governments that were fighting against the Tripartite Pact, signed at Washington D.C., the Declaration by United Nations. On December 1, 1943, Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill declared to "banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations"<sup>98</sup> so that people "may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences"<sup>99</sup>. Therefore, in Washington, at the mansion of the Dumbarton Oaks, the UK and US representatives talked with the representatives of the USSR and China in 1944. In February, 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met at Yalta (Soviet Union) and agreed to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference Proposals. Consequently, at San Francisco, on April 25, 1945, delegates of fifty nations drew up the 111-article Charter. On June 25, 1945, the delegates met in San Francisco and unanimously adopted the Charter and signed it the next day. It came into effect on October 24, 1945, when China, France, the USSR, the UK and the US and others filed their instruments of ratification. The main objectives<sup>100</sup> of the UN is to maintain international peace and security.

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96. Ibid., p. 22.

97. Everyman's United Nations, n. 88, p. 5.

98. Ibid., p. 7.

99. Arjun Dev, n. 84, p. 284.

100. See for further details Everyman's United Nations, n.88, p. 11; see Article I of the UN Charter.

Article 2 of the Charter says that in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article 1, all the members would agree to "the principle of sovereign equality of all its members ... fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the UN Charter... shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means without endangering international peace and security ... shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state ... shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action ... shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these principles and ... shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state"<sup>101</sup>.

The weakest point of the United Nations is the power of veto of the permanent members - the United States, the USSR, the United Kingdom, France and China. If any one of them in voting says "No" to the use of force even after a full investigation, the Security Council cannot use force to settle disputes. The United Nations differs from the League of Nations in one respect: "All members of the United Nations are bound to make available to the Security Council on its call and in accordance with special agreements a certain number of armed forces and other necessary facilities, including rights of passage. The military agreements with the member states have not been concluded so far"<sup>102</sup>. The work of the United Nations has been greatly hampered by the differences of opinion especially between the United States and the Soviet Union. The UN's success would lead to happiness and its failure may cause Third-World War.

#### United Nations and Decolonization

Before the Second World War, colonialism had become customary which caused conflicts and wars among the European nations. The colonial people did not like the foreign rule and revolted to overthrow

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101. Everyman's United Nations, Ibid., p. 554.

102. M.R. Ray, n. 86, p. 423.

the White regime. These affairs had disturbed the whole political realm. After the War, the establishment of the United Nations was the basis of the demands and expectations of the colonies regarding justice, peace, security and progress all over the globe.

To gain freedom for the colonial peoples, the United Nations incorporated in its Charter Chapters XII and XIII, under which the Mandate System of Non-Self Governing Territories (NSGT) flowered a seed sown by the League of Nations, as the League aimed at colonial supervision and the United Nations worked for decolonization.<sup>103</sup> In 1945, the number of UN members belonging to imperialist group (31) was more than the socialist nations (20), which grew to 45 in 1955. With the increase of the voting strength of the socialist nations in the United Nations, the Colonial Powers lost their influence and were subjugated to the obligations of the UN Charter. In the UN Trusteeship Council and the Special Committee for decolonization, the Colonial Powers began to refuse to submit annual reports on their territories on one pretext or the other, absolving themselves out of the UN jurisdiction,<sup>104</sup> but they could not check the nationalist movements being violently carried on in the territories supported by the Soviet group, which created the First Cold War<sup>105</sup> between the US and the USSR, during 1945 - 1955, when the United States gained nuclear superiority and resisted the growing upsurge of independence movement in the Middle East and Far East. The victory of Chinese Revolution, the partition of Vietnam and struggle against French and US imperialism, the internment of Malay guerillas in Malaysia by Britain, the defeat of Philippines revolutions, the ouster of Mosadeq in Iran, freedom struggles in Guatemala, the Korean War and discussion with regard to the independence of certain colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the United Nations, aggravated the Cold War. However, the group of newly independent countries continued to become members of the United Nations and their united force continuously grew in the form of non-aligned movement,<sup>106</sup> which mainly emphasised disarmament and decolonization of dependent

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103. Usha Sud, n. 4, p. 45.

104. Ibid., p. 46.

105. Ibid., p. 51.

106. Ibid., p. 67.



countries. Since 1955, with the growing African membership "there was no looking back for the African countries. Due to their own colonial past, the evils of colonialism had to be eradicated at any <sup>107</sup>cost". In 1960, of the seventeen, sixteen nations from Africa, the "Black Continent", entered and made the best use of the United Nations to voice their feelings and made it a hand-maid of the Third World.<sup>108</sup>

### Assessment of Power Blocs

The idea of non-alignment emerged from the disturbance of world order - violations of treaties and aggressions for maintaining balance of power. The League of Nations and then the United Nations failed to preserve peace.

The League failed to prevent Japanese aggression against China in 1931. Italy invaded Abyssinia in 1935. The League resorted to economic and financial sanctions against Italy, but as the constituent members did not fulfil their obligations, it failed to ensure peace, and Italy withdrew from it and conquered Abyssinia. Germany occupied Rhineland in 1936, annexed Austria in 1938 and Czechoslovakia in 1939, but the League could not take any effective action. When Russia invaded Finland in 1939, the League could only expell Russia. The failure of the League in maintaining world order resulted in the Second World War.

The United Nations was successful in maintaining peace in the Korean and the Suez zone. The United Nations also restored peace in Congo. But as the UN Charter envisaged regional arrangements in consonance with its purposes and principles, group agreements came to maintain the 'balance of power', a la Roman theory, "If you want peace be prepared for war". Woodrow Wilson, apprehensive of this factor, had remarked: "There can be no League or alliances, special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations"<sup>109</sup>. Contrarily, Churchill in a speech

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107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

109. M.P. Tandon and R. Tandon, Public International Law (Allahabad: Allahabad Law Agency, 13th edn., 1971), pp. 432-33.

at Fulton in 1946 propounded "the policy of containment" of Communism by fair or foul means. On June 11, 1948, the British Parliament empowered the Administration to favour the progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements, which resulted in the growth of regional pacts and treaties<sup>110</sup> among nations. The pacts, arranged in chronological order, are given below:-

#### 1945

Military Pact Among Arab States : The Arab states - Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen and Libya signed a pact on March 22, 1945, for economic and cultural cooperation and self-defence. UAR, Syria, Libya and Sudan entered into a military pact towards the end of 1970.

#### 1947

Dunkirk Treaty (or Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance) : The treaty was concluded at Dunkirk between France and the United Kingdom on March 4, 1947, for a period of 50 years, for mutual military and economic cooperation.

Inter-American Defence Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (The Rio Pact) : It was signed at Rio de Janeiro on September 2, 1947. Article 3 of the Treaty provides that an armed attack against an American State is to be considered as an attack against all the American States.

#### 1948

The Brussels Treaty : It was signed at Brussels on March 17, 1948, by Britain, Belgium, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, valid for 50 years, to achieve collective security in Western Europe.

#### 1949

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) : It was signed in Washington by 12 members on April 4, 1949, for a period of 20 years, with a view to safeguarding the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples on the principles of democracy and liberty. Its members were Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands

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110. See for further details Ibid., pp. 433-39.

Norway, Portugal, Turkey and the United States. Greece and Turkey joined in February, 1952, and FRG (West Germany) in 1955. France withdrew in 1966, for her own safety.

#### 1950

Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance: It was concluded between USSR and China on February 14, 1950, for 30 years, providing full military and other assistance in case of an armed attack by Japan or by any State allied with Japan.

Baghdad Pact (Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)): In 1955, Baghdad Pact was concluded with Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and the United Kingdom. The United States, although not a full-fledged member, is a member of the military committee of the Pact. Egypt protested against participation of the Big Powers and Syria against Turkey and Iraq. Iraq withdrew in 1958 and renounced US military aid in 1959. As a result the name, Baghdad Pact, was changed to Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in August, 1959. As Russia has contacts with Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, CENTO has declined in its strength.

#### 1951

US-Philippines Mutual Defence Treaty : It was concluded on August 30, 1951, for an indefinite period. It provides for mutual aid in case of armed attack in the Pacific area on either party.

The ANZUS Pact : It was signed on September 1, 1951, at San Francisco by Australia, New Zealand and the United States to strengthen security in the Pacific area on the basis of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid for an indefinite period.

US-Japanese Defence Pact : It was concluded on September 8, 1951, for an indefinite period, which provides for US aid to Japan in case of armed attack on it. They signed a new treaty on January 19, 1960, which stipulates that an attack on either party would be met by both.

#### 1954

South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty (SEATO)-Manila Pact: It was signed on September 8, 1954, by Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and the United States for an

indefinite period, especially against Communist aggression. Pakistan got into SEATO and evolved relationship with Communist China.

Balkan Pact : The Pact was concluded on September 9, 1954, between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia for 20 years, for military and other assistance.

### 1955

Warsaw Pact or East European Treaty Organization was signed on May 14, 1955, in Warsaw (Poland) for 20 years between USSR and the Communist States - Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Rumania supported by China for armed assistance in case of attack on either of them and to maintain peace in Europe, with headquarters in Moscow.

Treaty of Friendship between France and Libya was signed on August 10, 1955, providing all military and other assistance in case of war or threat of war in the area. The treaty was for 20 years and renewable after 10 years.

Egypt-Syria Defence Pact was concluded on October 20, 1955, for five years, providing for a joint command comprising all available armed forces.

The Soviet System of Collective Security : The Soviet Union entered into bilateral treaties with almost all the Communist countries e.g. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia for mutual assistance.

US Bilateral Military Pacts : Besides multilateral military alliances, the United States has entered into bilateral pacts with China, Iran, Japan, Korea, Pakistan, the Philippines and Turkey, in order to assist them in case of armed aggression by international Communism.

Besides the military treaties and pacts, several economic and political compacts were established by different countries. The agreement between Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, known as Benelux was signed in 1944. A new agreement was signed in 1947, by the Benelux States to work toward a full economic union. The Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) was established in 1948, for coordinating the work of the European States in operating the Marshall

Plan. The Organization of American States (OAS) was established at Bogota in 1948, for promotion of commerce and technical assistance. The Schuman Plan or the European Coal and Steel Community, signed on April 18, 1951, for 50 years in Paris, by France, the FRG, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, aims at economic integration of Europe. The Colombo Plan was born at a meeting of ministerial representatives of Commonwealth of Nations Government in Colombo in January, 1950. The United States joined it in 1951. Other countries, such as, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Nepal, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam joined it later. The Plan aimed at financial and technical assistance by advanced countries to the developing nations. The Plan was formally inaugurated on July 1, 1951, and was terminated on June 30, 1957, but its life was extended from time to time. Group of 77, formed in 1963-64, has now more than 120 members, who coordinate their activities and work out joint economic programmes by means of periodic consultations. It consists of several subgroups: most developed countries, least developed countries, countries with a medium level of development and also of subgroups with diverse political and social development and orientation.

The military and economic pacts and agreements have resulted in blocs of nations, each calling itself a defensive bloc and afraid of the other, engulfing both in a vicious circle. The dependence of developing nations upon the advanced countries due to these pacts has resulted in colonial dependence of the former.<sup>111</sup>

### The Cold War

The intensity of the Cold War may be assessed from the continued rivalry and race for supremacy between the United States and the Soviet Union from 1946 to 1962. The period may be divided into two phases - the first from 1946 to 1955, and the second from 1956 to 1962. Churchill's speech at Foulton on March 15, 1946, inaugurated the era of the Cold War. Further, Truman's Doctrine declared, in March, 1947, the United States an open "anti-Russian policeman". The imperialist bloc was joined by France and Italy, who ousted the Communists from Cabinets

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111. See for further details Subrata Banerjee, Non-Alignment Today : Challenges and Prospects (New Delhi: Allied Publishers P. Ltd., 1985), pp. 36-38.

in May, 1947. In Hungary, the Communists destroyed the Hungarian Smallholders' Party and took over the Government in August, 1947, and seized power in Czechoslovakia in February, 1948. Further, the Berlin blockade by Russia in 1948; signing of NATO in 1949; Truman's apprehension that Russia had the Atom bomb; beginning of the Korean War in 1950, and America's explosion of Hydrogen bomb in August, 1953, brought the planet on the verge of destruction. The United States strengthened its circle by establishing the SEATO on September 8, 1954. The signatories agreed to take collective action in the event of either external aggression against any one of them or internal subversion. They emphasized military aid and anti-Communist policies.

The Cold War has divided the world into blocs, according to the view of the NAM countries. The term 'third world' is often used for the movement of non-alignment<sup>112</sup>, the first and second - being led by the United States and the Soviet Union, the leaders of the West and the East respectively. The Chinese theory of the "three worlds" has a different meaning. Deng Xiaoping, in his address at the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on International Economic Relations in 1974, said that the "first world" embraced the two super powers - the United States and the Soviet Union, as the protagonists; the "second world" consists of the countries of Western and Eastern Europe - members of the Atlantic and Warsaw Pacts; and the "third world" includes all other countries - China, all NAM and developing countries, all newly liberated countries and all countries struggling for independence. According to the Chinese view the second and third worlds should "cooperate, work together and even form an alliance for the struggle against the "first world"<sup>113</sup>". These were the countries, which supported decolonization and helped to break the backbone of capitalism and colonialism.

In the second phase of the Cold War, revolt in Pozan (1956), and Hungary (1956), three-power attack on Egypt (1956), Soviet launching of ICBM and giving massive aid to Syria (1957) causing failure of

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112. Lazar Mojsov, n. 90, p. 44.

113. Ibid.

Eisenhower doctrine in the Arab world, and the Formosa and Berlin crises called for the necessity of talks for peace between the Super Powers. Nixon visited Moscow in July, 1959, and Khrushchev visited USA in August, 1959. Although USSR had imposed on itself moratorium on nuclear explosions, it resumed the same in 1961 as a protest against the insincerity of the Western Powers in their approach to Berlin problem, in view of the war efforts of NATO. Similarly, the United States resumed nuclear blasts and other members of 'Nuclear Club' followed suit. The Soviet Union exploded 50-Megaton super bomb and the United States exploded bombs underground. In a bid to solve the problem, a partial test ban treaty was signed by the Big Three - US, USSR and UK in Moscow in 1963, when about one hundred nations signed the same. In consequence, the UN General Assembly gave top priority to the issue of disarmament. As the Non-aligned countries had played an important role pressing to halt the spreading hatred and anger between the Nuclear Powers, it was their ultimate success.

Jawaharlal Nehru as Vice-President of the Interim Government of India in a press conference on September 2, 1946, proclaimed India's foreign policy as based on non-alignment and hoped that it would be the policy of many nations. He considered the struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States as a struggle for power and not between democracy and Communism<sup>114</sup>. As for instance, "the United States supported Tito with massive assistance when he defected from the Soviet bloc"<sup>115</sup>, and the Soviet Union supplied arms and supported the Egyptian position during the Trio (British, French and Israeli) invasion of Egypt in 1956, on the question of nationalization of the Suez Canal and financed the construction of Aswan Dam when the US and Britain refused to release the promised loan for the purpose; whereas, Nasser had announced in 1954, when the British forces were withdrawn from the Suez military base, that "no defence treaties with the Western powers were possible in the Middle East because the Arab peoples viewed

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114. Michael Brecher, The New States of Asia : A Political Analysis (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 203-4.

115. M.M. Rahman, The Politics of Non-Alignment (New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1969), p. 30.

them as colonialism in disguise<sup>116</sup>". Colonialism and imperialism are synonyms. Thus, every Big Power is imperialist and expansionist.

Obviously, the US or Soviet assistance is based on the policy of containment of imperialism or Communism and either of them has to keep the small states out of spheres of the other by giving them aid. Therefore, Nehru decided to develop industry, technology and agriculture of the country as rapidly as possible under democratic methods to avoid dependence upon foreign countries. On the other hand, Nasser, though, he was an enemy of Communism, established close relations with the Soviet Union and China for achieving peace and security and to introduce social reform and progress in Egypt. If Nehru in 1949, decided to remain in the Commonwealth before his visit to the United States, it showed he was not in the Communist camp so that he might get Western aid as the United States had decided to assist only those nations, which professed to be anti-Communist. Nehru tried to convince the United States that "he was interested in social reforms and the building of a strong economy, which the Western Powers considered necessary to combat Communism internally<sup>117</sup>". On the other hand, Nasser refused to join the Baghdad Pact in 1955 to assure the Soviet Union that he was not in the Western camp so that he could secure as much assistance from the Soviet bloc as possible. Nehru, however, did not kneel down before the US policy of domination and boldly declared that "Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral<sup>118</sup>". Nehru's visit to the United States revealed that he was not afraid of the Soviet Union or the United States and that he was free to establish friendly relations with either of them.

### Concept of Non-Alignment

The colonial nations struggled for liberation from the political domination of imperialism to break their economic dependence, to build an independent national economy and to lay foundation of political

116. Ivo Dvorak, n. 16, p. 209.

117. M.M. Rahman, n. 115, p. 32.

118. Vincent Sheean, Nehru: The Years of Power (London: Victor Gollancz, 1960), p. 591.



sovereignty. The October Revolution in Russia gave rise to the concept of common struggle for liberation. Further, the working class in capitalist countries also advocated socialism against imperialism. Recalling the experience of the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities,<sup>119</sup> at Brussels, in February, 1927, Jawaharlal Nehru said:<sup>120</sup>

"I do not know who originated the idea ... ideas of some common action between oppressed nations inter se, as well as between them and the Labour left wing, were very much in the air. It was felt more and more that the struggle for freedom was a common one against the thing that was imperialism, and joint deliberation and, where possible, joint action were desirable ...".

Nehru also said that active support to the idea of non-alignment also "came from Latin America, which was chafing at the time at the economic imperialism of the United States".

While the Brussels Conference (1927) sowed the seeds of the joint struggles, the idea of non-alignment as a movement was not conceived. It is difficult to trace the date of the origin of the idea of non-alignment as it has a long history. However, in practical shape, its origin may be traced to the 1940s, when the US and Soviet blocs emerged, and when the developing countries came forward for joint action to save their liberty.

The non-aligned countries were defined as "extra-bloc" states and their international activity as the "movement of extra-bloc countries" and policy of "non-attachment". The non-bloc and anti-bloc quality of the movement of non-alignment became all pervasive and these countries were described as a "third bloc", or a "third power". Explaining this quality, Tito said,<sup>121</sup> on October 31, 1951:

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119. The Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism was attended by "representatives of Indonesia, India, China, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Korea, Indochina, Japan, North and South America and Mexico, representing 136 organizations from colonial countries", see Lazar Mojssov, n. 90, p. 30.
120. Jawaharlal Nehru, An Autobiography : A Political Biography (London: Heineman, 1961), in Subrata Banerjee, n. 111, p. 27.
121. Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia in the Struggle for Independence and Non-Alignment (Belgrade: 1978), pp. 26-27.

"In question is a broad-based popular striving and active struggle to achieve full national freedom and secure the right to social development in this freedom, in accordance with their own choice, a struggle against being the economic and political appendage of great world powers i.e. the centres of military-political and economic power, to safeguard themselves in this process against foreign domination and exploitation and proceeding from these positions to be able to influence the development of international relations."

In view of the military-political alliances and bloc politics of the United States and Soviet Union, the developing countries, to safeguard themselves from any form of domination, following the movement of popular emancipation, willingly adopted the policy of "positive neutrality". But "strict respect for neutrality" meant distancing oneself from those in conflict, but the non-alignment was not a neutral force as it always opposed "the world's division into blocs, or neutrality i.e. a pragmatic-oriented search for some kind of equidistance between the blocs, although such a policy did come to varying degrees of expression within some non-aligned countries."<sup>126</sup>

The developing nations did not want to associate themselves with either the East or West, because there was a danger of domination of Big Powers and their independence could be jeopardised. Referring to the cold war climate and the problem of Indian defence, Jawaharlal Nehru, in a speech to the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) on March 8, 1948, <sup>127</sup>said:

"Nothing is more important in the opinion of this Government than to make India strong economically and militarily - not strong in the Big Power sense, because that is beyond our capacity, but as strong as we can to defend ourselves if anybody attacks us."

Nehru, on March 22, 1949, said again:<sup>128</sup>

"The first duty of every country is to protect itself. Protecting oneself unfortunately means relying on the armed forces and the like and so we build up, where necessity

126. Ibid., p. 132.

127. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy : Selected Speeches, September, 1946 - April, 1961 (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1961), p. 35.

128. Ibid., pp. 45-46.

in 1948; Ho Chi Minh in Indo-China, who dethroned the pro-British monarch of Annam in 1945; Sukarno in Indonesia (independent in 1945), Yasser Arafat in Palestine, leader of the PLO; Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore (independent in 1950); John Kotelawala in Sri Lanka (independent in 1948); Fidel Castro in Cuba, who attacked the British military bases in 1953; President Josip Broz Tito in Yugoslavia; President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt who seized power in 1953, and formed the United Arab Republic with Syria in 1958; and Premier Nkrumah in Ghana (independent in 1957); and other Afro-Asian nations practised non-alignment successfully,<sup>131</sup> especially the United Arab Republic, whose foreign policy was most aggressive and dynamic among the non-aligned nations.<sup>132</sup> India, Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic drew inspiration from each other, established close cooperation and independently evolved a policy<sup>133</sup> which became a special feature of the non-alignment. Nehru, thus, was not the only advocate of the policy. He admitted that "Asia and Africa had common experience and circumstances favouring non-alignment".<sup>134</sup> Therefore, he always spoke of Asia and Africa and not of India alone. Nehru<sup>135</sup> said:

"It is a policy inherent in the circumstances of India, inherent in the conditioning of the Indian mind during our struggle for freedom, and inherent in the circumstances of the world today... It represents every circumstance that goes towards making the thought of India on these subjects".

The policy of non-alignment was a pre-independence thinking of Nehru under the influence of Gandhi, who practised 'Non-violence' and 'Satyagraha', which was a part of the Indian mind. A phrase like "mental outlook of India" used by Nehru in his speech is the philosophical and cultural basis of India. Appadorai says: "The essence of that 'mental outlook' is a spirit of tolerance among the common

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131. K.P. Karunakaran (ed.), Outside the Contest: A Study of Non-Alignment and Foreign Policies of Some Non-aligned Countries (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1963), p. 97.

132. K.R. Singh, 'Positive Neutrality', in K.P. Karunakaran, Ibid., p. 161. See also Bimla Prasad, 'Report on Seminar on Asian Studies', International Studies, Vol. VII, July-September, 1965, p. 113.

133. Peter Lyon, Neutralism (Leicester University Press, 1963), p. 120.

134. M.M. Rahman, n. 115, p. 6.

135. Jawaharlal Nehru, n. 127, pp. 80 and 83.

people in India, who have inherited the traditions from their scriptures and from their history<sup>136</sup>". At one time Nehru also said: "Peaceful co-existence is not a new idea for us in India. It has been our way of life and is as old as our thought and culture. About 2,200 years ago, a great son of India, Ashoka, proclaimed it and inscribed it on rock and stone<sup>137</sup>". Similarly Nasser says: "Our policy emanates from our country, our land, and our conscience<sup>138</sup>". Nkrumah of Ghana and others, in view of the weak position of their countries, cooperated with Nehru and Nasser. Thus, "Nasser, Nehru and Nkrumah ... seem to speak the same language and to draw inspiration from the same public philosophy when they discourse on neutralism and the cold war<sup>139</sup>". Nasser, however, abandoned his idea of Islam as the "Third Circle" in favour of the more influential and powerful circle of the non-aligned States<sup>140</sup>. Nasser's and Nehru's ideas of non-alignment are different due to their being under religious influence. Nasser did not believe in the policy of non-alignment to the extent of going down on his knees. He preferred to fight the aggressor under the teaching of Islamic Jihad as in the case of war against Israel, while Nehru preferred peaceful negotiation which he adopted in the case of Goa and the dispute with China.

During the Arab-Israel war, Indo-China war or US attack on Libya, other countries did not intervene. As a result, the wars left a permanent blot on the policy of non-alignment and its observers. They should realise that non-alignment does not mean 'non-interference' or 'non-intervention' in the affairs of others, which reduces non-alignment to mere neutrality. Nehru and Nasser have rightly said

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136. A. Appadorai, 'The Foreign Policy of India', in J.E. Black and K.W. Thompson (eds.), Foreign Policies in a World of Change (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1963), p. 484.
137. Charles Drekmeur, Kingship and Community in Early India (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 167.
138. President Gamal Abdel Nasser's Speeches and Press Interviews, 1958 (United Arab Republic Information Department), pp. 88 and 100. See also Nasser's Speeches, 1959, p. 33.
139. Fayez A. Sayegh, 'Islam and Neutralism', in J. Harris Proctor (ed.), Islam and International Relations (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), p. 73.
140. Gamal Abdel Nasser, The Philosophy of the Revolution (Cairo: Ministry of National Guidance Information Administration), pp. 51 and 70.

that non-alignment has little to do with neutrality or impartiality or even freedom from all obligations and commitments. Thus, Nehru's statement that "we are free to join any alliance" goes against and belies the claim that "in many matters the non-aligned countries have a duty to be neutral, in the traditional sense"<sup>141</sup>. Further, alternatively, if it is granted that non-alignment means "interference" or "intervention" in the affairs of others, it would justify aggression, or unauthorised use of influence or power on other states, which would encourage a policy of colonisation in disguise. For instance, the Colonial Powers intervened and signed treaties with nations assuring their protection and neutralisation, which reduced them to mere vassal states. Likewise, India also interfered in the domestic affairs of Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh. Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim became vassal states. East Pakistan won freedom, and Hyderabad and Junagadh were forcibly occupied, and Kashmir, whose population was not given the chance of expressing its views through a referendum, is partly occupied by India and partly by Pakistan and has become a permanent source of conflict. It shows that the non-aligned countries have the right to interfere with and occupy others territories as the other Big Powers do or have done. For instance, Nasser crossed swords with Khrushchev in 1959, when the latter accused him of anti-Communism. Nasser boldly said:<sup>142</sup>

"If Khrushchev rises today to defend a small minority of the sons of our country ... saying that he is defending Communism as a principle, we tell him that we do not consider this as defence of the Communist principle, but as intervention in our affairs".

### Objectives of the Non-Alignment

Keeping in view the expansionist nature of Imperialism and Communism to widen their circle of influence, every nation is conscious of the danger of being dominated by them by any means - economic, political or military. So, the advocates of non-alignment were primarily concerned with pursuit of peace and security and progress.

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141. J.W. Burton, International Relations : A General Theory (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 224.

142. President Gamal Abdel Nasser's Speeches and Press Interviews, 1959 (United Arab Republic Information Department), p. 164.

Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking at the Columbia University in 1949, explained the basic objectives of Non-alignment as follows:-<sup>143</sup>

"The main objectives of that policy (non-alignment) are the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major group of powers but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subjected peoples; the maintenance of freedom; both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of want; disease and ignorance, which afflict the great part of the world's population".

Further, the objectives of the members of the non-aligned group were peace and security of those countries which had recently become independent or the ones which were struggling for independence. They followed the ideology of the non-alignment with respect to the liberation of subject peoples before and after their independence as part of their strategy to protect their own freedom and security. Nehru, who championed Afro-Asian freedom movements, once said: "in the long run it is to the advantage of India to try to attract to itself the sympathy and hope of millions of people in the world without offending others"<sup>144</sup>. He also said: "I do not think it is purely idealistic: I think it is, if you like, opportunist in the long run"<sup>145</sup>.

Thus, it may be said that the objective of the non-alignment is neither an anti-Communist nor an anti-Colonialist policy. They opposed Communism or Colonialism when it posed threat to their security, and they came forward for the cause of the colonial peoples to strengthen the measures of their own security and they cooperated with the Big Powers in their own interest. Thus, India received substantially more aid than any other country<sup>146</sup> from the Big Powers directly. Likewise, Pakistan, a member of the non-aligned nations is also a major recipient

143. Jawaharlal Nehru, Speeches, 1949-1953 (New Delhi: Ministry of Information, Publications Division, Government of India), p. 401.

144. The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, Belgrade, September 1-6, 1961 (Belgrade: Jugoslavija Publishing House, 1961), p. 34.

145. Ibid., p. 30.

146. Peter Willetts, The Non-Aligned Movement : The Origins of a Third World Alliance (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1978), p. 215. (Comparative Tables).

of US assistance for national security and economic development,<sup>147</sup> although it was a most anti-colonial and anti-racial country as proved in the UN committees. In fact, these are features shared by all Afro-Asian countries, including those which are aligned, as may be seen in the brief history of the Afro-Asian countries. However, it may be inferred that, as Burton said: "Non-alignment then is a condition which tends to occur whenever the pressures of circumstances are not sufficiently strong to justify alignments",<sup>148</sup> and Nehru observed: "We might have been compelled by circumstances, but we are not compelled by circumstances to give up, because it does amount to giving up our independence in order to gain the goodwill of this country or that country".<sup>149</sup>

The above discussion makes it clear that the non-aligned nations, which receive military assistance from Power blocs, do not lose their independence. For instance, Pakistan had military aid from the United States and joined the Power blocs, but it retained its independent policy and established friendly relations with non-aligned countries. The idea that "non-alignment is synonymous with independence" is an extreme view. Nehru, in reply to a demand from a member of the Lok Sabha that India should withdraw from the Commonwealth of Nations, said on June 12, 1952:<sup>150</sup>

"Nations must act with dignity and strength, adopt what they consider the right course and adhere. It is open to us to be associated in an alliance with any country. We have avoided alliances that might entangle us ... so far as we are concerned we are prepared to enter into a treaty of friendship with every country in the world".

Nehru, opposing the alliance at the cost of independent, said:

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147. B.C. Rastogi, 'Alignment and Non-alignment in Pakistan's Foreign Policy', International Studies (New Delhi: School of International Studies, JNU), Vol. III, No. 2, October, 1961, pp. 168-70, 177; see also M.S. Venkataramani, 'America's Military Alliance with Pakistan : The Evolution and Course on an Uneasy Partnership', International Studies (New Delhi), Vol. VIII, No. 1-2, July-October, 1966, pp. 97-98.

148. M.M. Rahman, n. 115, p. 34.

149. Jawaharlal Nehru, n. 127, p. 35.

150. Ibid., pp. 60-61, 133.

"In an alliance, one invariably takes something and gives something in return. Each country binds itself down to a certain extent and relinquishes its freedom of action to the extent to which it commits itself in the alliance or agreement. An alliance, nevertheless, need not stand in the way of independence of the country".

The view that 'non-alignment' means rejection of alliance with any power, is not true. India associated itself with the non-aligned countries and opposed NATO, which supported Portugal on Goa. Nasser opposed NATO and the Baghdad Pact, which supported Israel. India's association with the Commonwealth and Nasser's treaty with Britain in 1954, showed that both India and UAR wanted British help for defence. India accepted British assistance in building its defence forces. For the training of Indian army, Panikkar wrote that British cooperation was necessary. He said: "It was impossible without adequate co-operation from one of the major Powers to acquire this knowledge. Close association with Britain was for India the only practical alternative and India chose it unhesitatingly<sup>151</sup>". The Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London in 1948, talking of the defence and maintenance of world peace, observed: "In the discussion there was agreement that the danger of war must be met by building up the armed forces in order to deter any would-be aggressor, and that freedom must be safeguarded not only by military defensive measures but also by advancing social and economic welfare<sup>152</sup>".

### Policy of Non-Alignment

The policy and principle of non-alignment is based on the theory of balance of power with the main objective of security and protection of the nations, which has various aspects. Nehru explained these aspects in the debate on Foreign Affairs in the Lok Sabha on September 9, 1958<sup>153</sup>:

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151. K.M. Panikkar, Problems of Indian Defence (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1960), p. 34.

152. K.P. Karunakaran, India in World Affairs, 1947-50 (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 40-41.

153. Jawaharlal Nehru, n. 127, pp. 79-80.



"When we say our policy is one of non-alignment, obviously we mean non-alignment with military blocs ... This in itself is not a policy, it is only part of a policy ...".

But, 'non-alignment with military blocs' aims at peace and security and how it can be achieved Nehru continues:

"Security can be obtained in many ways. The normal idea is that security is protected by armies. That is only partly true; it is equally true that security is protected by policies. A deliberate policy of friendship with other countries goes further in gaining security than almost anything else ... The other positive aspects are an enlargement of freedom in the world, replacement of colonialism by free and independent countries and a large degree of cooperation among nations".

As far as protection of security by armies is concerned, it is not possible for small nations to defend their boundaries driving the Big Powers with force until and unless they fight unitedly. To gain a united force, the adoption of policy of friendship is inevitable, which demands cooperation with the subject nations for overthrowing colonialism, political or economic. All these policies unescapably has many aspects and every nation adopts its own policy, perceiving its own advantage and disadvantage. Therefore, Nehru says:<sup>154</sup>

"Therefore, whether a country is imperialist or socialist or Communist, its Foreign Minister thinks primarily of the interests of that country. But ... of course some people may think of the interests of their country regardless of other consequences or take a short distance view. Others may think that in the long-term policy the interest of another country is as important to them as that of their country. The interest of peace is more important because if war comes everyone suffers, so that in the long-distance view, self-interest may itself demand a policy of cooperation with other nations, goodwill for other nations, as, indeed, it does demand".

The non-aligned countries have to look after their own interests and, at the same time, have to maintain world cooperation and world peace. But in case of aggression by another nation, the country has to meet it. Therefore, it would not be possible to maintain friendship with every country. Nehru says:<sup>155</sup>

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154. Ibid., p. 28.

155. Ibid., p. 45.

"Naturally you are more friendly with those countries with whom you have closer relations ... Naturally, again, we are likely to be more friendly to some countries than to others because this may be to our mutual advantage... but even so, our friendship with other countries should not bring us inevitably into conflict with some other country".

Each country maintains its relations with others keeping in view its own position and the international distribution of power. They would not make alliance with those which threaten their independence and may cause their downfall. Further, while making treaties with others they fear that "they would provoke a hostility of a rival group and be drawn into conflicts which they might avoid by remaining dissociated from either group"<sup>156</sup>. Their association or dissociation depends upon their geographical condition and natural resources. Thus, "the maintenance of defensive balance of power differs in different countries. What is common is the aim of survival"<sup>157</sup>. This is the main reason for shunning the Power blocs by the small nations. Nehru realised, after the Second World War, that the atmosphere was congenial for non-alignment. Hence, in 1946, he declared 'non-alignment' as India's foreign policy. The developing countries accurately judged the antagonistic character of the Big Powers who aimed to have as many Afro-Asian countries as possible on their side, and saw their peace and security in keeping themselves aloof from them as far as possible. Therefore, they preferred to join the non-aligned countries. Nehru elaborates this point as follows:<sup>158</sup>

"If you extend the argument, you will see that the only way to avoid conflicts is to accept things more or less as they are. No doubt, many things require to be changed, but you must not think of changing them by war ... Further by enlarging the area of peace, that is of countries which are not aligned to this group or that, but which are friendly to both, you reduce the chance of war".

To avoid antagonism, the developing countries, realising the danger of Cold War, did not like to join either the Soviet Union or

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156. M.M. Rahman, n. 115, p. 51; see also E.F. Penrose, The Revolution in International Affairs : A Study in the Changing Nature of Balance of Power (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1965), pp. 6-7.

157. Ibid.

158. Jawaharlal Nehru, n. 127, p. 67.

the United States, as Nehru said: "It would have been quite astonishingly foolish to fall into this business of the cold war, either on grounds of principle or on grounds of expediency"<sup>159</sup>. He wrote to Menon and Asaf Ali on the eve of their departure respectively to Washington and Nanking as the first Ambassadors of independent India in 1947<sup>160</sup>:

"... The Soviet Union being our neighbour, we shall inevitably develop closer relations with it. We cannot afford to antagonize Russia merely because we think that this may irritate someone else. Nor indeed can we antagonize the USA".

To maintain the non-antagonistic policy, Nehru decided to adopt non-alignment with the Power blocs. He did not want to antagonise Russia, because Russia was the nearest power having friendly relations with Communist China, which was rising as an Asian power and whose expansionist nature was a danger to India. He did not want to antagonise the West, especially the United States, because it was the only power to check the expansionist moves of the Soviet Union or China. Therefore, he warned the Communist powers<sup>161</sup>:

"He would not hesitate to accept Western aid, if not an alliance, if India's security was threatened, by his decision to remain in the Commonwealth, by his support to the Burmese Government against the Communists, and by putting the Communists in India in jail in thousands. Stalin might have already learnt his lesson from Tito's successful defection from his control and the prompt support given by the United States to the latter".

Nehru, to counter the Russian and Chinese powers, had in mind to seek help from the United States and this was the policy of other nations also. Cecil says that "there has always been a tacit dependence upon the world balance of power and great Power support in times of crises"<sup>162</sup>. Panikkar writes that India's non-alignment "does not mean that in case she is actually attacked she would not accept assistance

159. Ibid., p. 83.

160. K.P.S. Menon, n. 130.

161. M.M. Rahman, n. 115, p. 57.

162. Ibid.; see for further details Cecil V. Crabb, Jr., The Elephants and the Grass : A Study of Non-alignment (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), pp. 30-33.

from others",<sup>163</sup> as Britain and France sought help from the Soviet Union to check Nazi aggression, and Moscow welcomed assistance from America and the Western allies to fight the Nazis. Keeping this fact in view, Nehru on November 27, 1959, said in the Lok Sabha:<sup>164</sup>

"The policy of non-alignment and of having friendly relations is, I believe, basically a right policy under all circumstances. But if two countries fall out and, in the extreme instance, go to war, obviously that policy does not apply to them. If peace is broken, we deal with the situation in so far as we can. The policy remains good all the same and it applies to the rest of the world, and later, to that part of the world too, because war is not a permanent phenomenon".

Nasser also held the same view. While talking with Eden, the British Premier in Cairo, on February 20, 1965, when the British Foreign Secretary was advocating the cause of the Baghdad Pact, Nasser, rejecting the Pact and British protection, is reported to have said:<sup>165</sup>

"I said we could defend ourselves, and in the case of Soviet aggression we would have recourse to the Western Powers, and that we would ask for the help of the Soviet Union if we are attacked by the Western Powers".

As the Soviet Union responded to the cause of the non-aligned countries, Nehru and others felt that it would be a "moral failure" to abandon the principle, but they are apprehensive of their weak economic and defence position. They wanted some means to ensure their protection, to stand on their legs and to build their country's future in their own way. But it was not possible without the assistance of the friendly nations, especially Big Powers, who put conditions leading to alliances, for alliance was a sort of commitment to one side or the other, subordinating the country to a Big Power. In 1959, Nehru said in the Lok Sabha: "There is one fact which might be remembered when people think sometimes of obtaining outside help ... I do not want this idea to get into our people that others will help us and preserve our freedom. I do not want India to go on crutches".<sup>166</sup>

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163. K.M. Panikkar, n.151, pp. 128-29.

164. Nehru's Selected Speeches, n. 127, pp. 364-65.

165. Nasser's Speeches, 1958, n. 138, p. 236.

166. Nehru's Selected Speeches, n. 127, p. 379.

But when an aid came with conditions, it was rejected. During the Suez crisis, when Nasser asked for arms from Britain, she made a condition that he would neither attack nor oppose the Baghdad Pact, which Nasser rejected. In the same way, Nehru also did not accept the Western assistance at the time of Chinese aggression. That is why Nehru and Nasser laid the foundations of a self-sufficient defence force in their spheres. But since defence depends on industrial growth, Nehru, in the Lok Sabha on December 8, 1959, <sup>167</sup>said:

"The basic factor in defence is the industrial growth of our country, and all the armies in the world without an industrial background cannot function adequately. Our Five Year Plans built up this industrial background".

To meet the military requirements for defence, Nehru felt the need of heavy industries. He added:

"Our stress, in particular, has been on peace and will continue to be on peace, but that does not mean any kind of forgetfulness of the country's basic requirements in regard to defence ... Both for guns and butter we have to lay, as rapidly and as firmly as we can, the foundations of heavy industry".

Like Nehru and Nasser, Nkrumah, Sukarno and Tito have also been Socialists and were apprehensive of getting aids from the Western countries and the United States, who insisted on some form of capitalism, which they rejected. The Soviet Union was the only country which came forward to aid them in a big way. Nehru opposed the Soviet and Chinese-backed Communists, who caused the fall of Sukarno in Indonesia. Therefore, whenever the Communists exceeded the constitutional limits, Nehru and Nasser crushed them with heavy hands. But as the Soviet Union accepted the policy of non-alignment, the Communist weapon of criticising the ruling party being in the imperialist group became ineffective. On the other hand, the non-aligned countries saved themselves from the interference of the Soviet Union and China. This was a direct result of the non-aligned nations making themselves a third power and maintaining a defensive balance of power. They continued to keep themselves aloof from establishing some sort of relations with the West and also friendly relations with the Soviet

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167. M.M. Rahman, n. 115, p. 62.

Union. Thus came the stage of "neutrality". Sayegh says: "Non-alignment is, rather the passive, first stage of neutralism. Neutralism has in common with non-alignment an expressed desire to remain aloof from bloc conflict"<sup>168</sup>. Brecher said: "Non-alignment is the policy guide"<sup>169</sup> of the neutralist state. Nehru called it a 'Positive policy for Peace'. But after the Korean War, Nehru realised that neutrality was not enough to maintain peace in the world. He, therefore, moved to the second stage i.e. non-alignment, and in the fifties, openly came out as a leader of non-aligned nations to avert a global conflict, which was sine qua non of India remaining free from war. In fact, the non-aligned countries always denied, like Nehru, neutrality or neutralism. Nehru did not accept the term 'positive neutralism', but the Arabs disliked the term 'non-alignment' and Nasser used both the terms "positive neutralism" and "non-alignment" stressing the positive aspects.

For Nehru, "neutrality" meant a policy which had little meaning except in times of war."If you think there is a cold war today, we are certainly neutral"<sup>170</sup>. Nehru, in December, 1947, in the Constituent Assembly<sup>171</sup> said:

"We have proclaimed during this past year that we will not attach ourselves to any particular group. That has nothing to do with neutrality or passivity or anything else. If there is a big war, there is no particular reason why we should jump into it. Nevertheless it is a little difficult now-a-days in world wars to be neutral ... We are not going to join a war if we can help it. We are going to join the side which is to our interest when the time comes to make the choice. There the matter ends".

But neutrality works when non-alignment fails during war. Therefore, as a safeguard, India has adopted neutrality.

168. Fayez A. Sayegh (ed.), The Dynamics of Neutralism in the Arab World: A Symposium (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), p. 4.

169. Michael Brecher, The New States of Asia : A Political Analysis (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 113.

170. Nehru's Selected Speeches, n. 127, p. 58.

171. Ibid., p. 24.

The aim of the non-aligned countries is to avert war between the Big Powers for their own security as well as world peace, as Nehru said: "The supreme question that one has to face today in the world is, how can we avoid a world war<sup>172</sup>", and "The only way to avoid conflicts is to accept things more or less as they are. No doubt many things require to be changed, but you must not think of changing them by war ... Further by enlarging the area of peace, that is of countries which are not aligned to this group or that but which are friendly to both, you reduce the chance of war<sup>173</sup>". Nehru meant to say that balance of power should not be changed by use of force, for it would result in war, especially between the two antagonist Powers i.e., the United States and the Soviet Union. However, he meant to conclude that balance of power would be possible if a third power sides one or the other without commitment to either side for maintaining peace. Thus, the real meaning of non-alignment is the "pursuit of peace not through alignment with any major group of Powers but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue<sup>174</sup>". Defining India's policy for non-alignment, Nehru said<sup>175</sup>:

"I feel that India can play a big part, and may be an effective part, in helping to avoid war. Therefore, it becomes all the more necessary that India should not be lined up with any group of Powers which for various reasons are full of fear of war and preparing for war. That is the main approach of our policy".

Nehru further said<sup>176</sup>:

"We have stated repeatedly that our foreign policy is one of keeping aloof from the big blocs of nations - rival blocs - and being friendly to all countries and not becoming entangled in any alliances military or other that might drag us into any possible conflict ...".

172. C.A.D. (Constituent Assembly Debates), Vol. II, Part II, March 8, 1949, p. 1235.

173. Nehru's Selected Speeches, n. 127.

174. M.M. Rahman, n. 115, p. 68.

175. Ibid.; see also The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, Belgrade, n. 144, p. 1232.

176. Belgrade Report, Ibid.

Nehru, apprehensive of the situation in which he might have to resort to alliances with Big Powers, says:

"If by chance we align ourselves definitely with one group, we may perhaps from one point of view do some good, but I have not the shadow of a doubt that from a larger point of view, not only of India but of world peace, it will do harm. Because then we lose that tremendous vantage ground that we have of using such influence as we possess (and that influence is going to grow year to year) in the case of world peace".

The policy of Non-alignment, declared by Nehru, is similar to the British policy of 'Freehand'. He said : "The policy of isolation was not one of holding aloof but to 'avoid needless entangling engagements' ... It meant a free hand- with the implication that the hand could be applied as required by the cardinal principles of British policy<sup>177</sup>". Again Lord Salisbury said: "the British policy was to keep absolutely clear of entanglements and to leave the country free to take any action which it might think fit in the event of war"<sup>178</sup>. Nehru took inspiration from the British foreign policy, which, as an English authority stated, "had to be directed so as to harmonize with the general desires and ideals common to all mankind ... England, more than any other noninsular Power, has a direct and positive interest in the maintenance of the independence of nations, and therefore must be the natural enemy of any country threatening the independence of others and the natural protector of the weaker communities"<sup>179</sup>. This typical view of that time was reflected in the Indian view. An Indian scholar wrote: "It so happened that many of the policies and actions of the Indian people (e.g. opposition to colonialism and racialism) were in harmony with the needs of world society and the general moral values prevailing in the world at large"<sup>180</sup>. Saul Rose interprets the British, saying that "What is good for the world is good

177. Saul Rose, 'The Foreign Policy of Britain', in J.E. Black and K.W. Thompson (eds.), Foreign Policies in a World of Change (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1963), p. 30.

178. M.M. Rahman, n. 115, p. 69.

179. Saul Rose, n. 177, pp. 30-31.

180. M.S. Rajan, India in World Affairs, 1954-56 (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1973), p. 38.



for British<sup>181</sup>", which, in reality, meant "that what is good for Britain is good for the world". Likewise, the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement have been saying that "Freedom of the world is the freedom of the Non-aligned nations", which actually means that "Freedom of the non-aligned nations is the freedom of the whole world"<sup>182</sup>.

Based on the concept and policies of the Non-alignment and its Movement, the Ministerial Conference of the Non-aligned Countries at Belgrade held from July 25-30, 1978, affirmed the following principles and objectives of the Movement "achieving peace based on the universal application of the principles of active peaceful co-existence; national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, the free social development of all countries; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; realization of the right to self-determination and independence of all peoples under colonial and alien domination and to put an end to foreign occupation; the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, including Zionism and all forms of expansionism, foreign domination and hegemony; overcoming the division of the world into antagonistic military-political alliances; withdrawal of foreign military forces dismantling of all foreign military bases; rejection of outmoded doctrines, such as, spheres of influence, and balance of terror, noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, non-intervention, inviolability of legally established international boundaries; inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by means of war or occupation; peaceful settlement of disputes; establishment of the New International Economic Order, and development of international cooperation on the basis of equality"<sup>183</sup>.

Belgian view on the Nonaligned movement is also important. Foreign Minister of Belgium, Leo Tindemans, visited India on January 18, 1983. He said that "the nonaligned movement could be important

181. Saul Rose, n. 177, p. 31.

182. Self-interpretation.

183. Two Decades of Non-Alignment : Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1983), p. 297.

as a world force if it pursued an 'intelligent' approach and was 'genuinely' nonaligned<sup>184</sup>". After a meeting with Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, at a Press Conference, he expressing his view on the non-aligned movement, said that if it was genuine, it would be a factor in improving East-West relations<sup>185</sup>.

Egyptian view of the policy of Non-alignment is traced in President Nasser's statement at the Cairo Summit, held in 1964. Referring to the 'cold war' and blocs policy, Nasser defined the meaning and policy of non-alignment. First, in view of the dangers of dissipation and his positive action to evade it, he said: "the policy of non-alignment is not a trade in the strife between the two blocs, aiming at securing the highest portion of privileges from each". Secondly, in the light of his endeavours to deal with all the problems of his age under obligation of the UN Charter and the Charter of Peace based on justice, he said: "the policy of nonalignment is not passive, wishing to remain aloof from the problems of its world". From these two meanings, various facts emerge: "First, the policy of nonaligned is not a 'cold war' trade. Secondly, the changes in the situation of world blocs have no bearing on the policy of nonalignment. This policy retains its expression of humanity's conscience bound by the United Nations Charter, irrespective of the existence of two, three or four blocs. Thirdly, in its final form the nonalignment policy is for peace based on justice"<sup>186</sup>.

### Sphere of Non-Alignment

The sphere of non-alignment politically generates ideas against colonialism and neo-colonialism, which exploit others' lands. European nations in the past were engaged in the conquest and political control of other groups. Europe, between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries, conquered and established their rule in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The European colonisation of the world succeeded due to their strong maritime superiority, advanced technology, scientific knowledge, supremacy in war tactics, and intrigue with the local people.

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184. Attar Chand, n. 9, p. 149.

185. Ibid.

186. Ibid., pp. 163-64.

The race of colonialism was run by Portugal, Spain, England, Holland, France, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Australia, Belgium, Italy, America and New Zealand. These colonialists exploited the natural wealth of their colonies, keeping the people uneducated, poor and under suppression. The political emancipation caused by the NAM forced the colonialists to realise that the people would ultimately stand up to fight for independence and, eventually, autonomy would follow. Therefore, after the Second World War, Britain fully accepted that it "had the responsibility of promoting economic and social advance in her colonies in order to provide the essential basis for political self-<sup>187</sup>rule", which, later, led to the demand of 'self-government', 'self-determination' and independence. By the end of 1980, almost all the colonies had become independent.

Independence gave the countries complete control over their economic resources and political affairs. Though they were sovereign, but, in reality, their fortune was directed by their former rulers or the rich industrialised developed nations. This kind of indirect or veiled control of the developing nations by the advanced nations is known as 'neo-colonialism'. According to Nkrumah, "the essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of internal sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political<sup>188</sup> policy is directed from outside".

However, the newly independent nations are deeply conscious of their economic backwardness and the appalling poverty of their people. The leaders held that without political power, economic development was impossible; but, at present, the experience showed that the logic was fallacious since the achievement of political sovereignty does not automatically lead to uplift of the economic lot of the country because the developing nations still depend on the developed nations for "capital, manufactures, capital goods, technical know-how and entrepreneurial skills, which they need in order to modernise and

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187. E.A. Boateng, A Political Geography of Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 62.

188. Ibid., p. 77.

upgrade their fragile economies"<sup>189</sup>. Further, the developed countries, owing to their greatly superior economic and technological advantages, exploit the developing nations in every possible way and even to the extent of gaining indirect control over both economic and political affairs; "thus completely destroying the substance of their political sovereignty"<sup>190</sup>.

The greatest handicap of the developing nations is their loss in trade because each party seeks to promote its own product, which creates rivalry between the states and, sometimes, war results. Secondly, the developing nations, for want of money and technology, invite the rich industrial nations to "press their interests almost ruthlessly to the disadvantage of the poor nations"<sup>191</sup>. In this context, Boateng says:<sup>192</sup>

"neo-colonialism is not really a new phenomenon; it is new only in the sense that in its contemporary manifestation it has become greatly intensified in its effects by the sharp and ever-widening division of the world into two distinct groups made of the very rich nations with rapidly growing economies, on the one hand, and the very poor nations, on the other hand, whose economies are either stagnant or growing at only a very slow rate".

To search the means to break this economic bondage, the NAM Conferences recommended and took many measures. But, in fact, the solution of the problem lies in the cooperation of the rich and the poor countries. Obviously, the rich nations would not help disinterestedly, but with the aim to serve their own purpose. The patterns of trade and economic development cannot be changed overnight, but it is possible if they follow "a policy of self-reliance and mutual cooperation"<sup>193</sup>, which are the foundations of stable government. Complete economic independence, however, is a goal which neither they nor indeed any other country can hope to achieve in the circumstances

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189. Ibid., p. 78.

190. Ibid.

191. Ibid.

192. Ibid.

193. Ibid.

of the modern world in which "all countries are becoming increasingly interdependent economically and politically"<sup>194</sup>.

The newly independent nations have broken the shackles of dependence to some extent, on the developing countries by establishing new relations and joining international and regional organisations. The Chairman of the Non-aligned Movement, Robert Mugabe, called for "restructuring of the 101-member<sup>195</sup> organisation" saying that it lacks the necessary "teeth" to effect its programme. He said:<sup>196</sup>

"There is need for the restructuring of NAM so that it can be given the teeth it must have, or at least people ... to exert political influence, now that the movement is being listened to by the superpowers".

Robert Mugabe observed that there was a growing recognition among the superpowers of the role that NAM had played and continued to play in terms of issues of internal peace and security.<sup>197</sup> In view of the NAM's role, the United States has changed its stance and now sends representatives to brief him after each meeting with the Soviets. Likewise, the Soviet government also briefed NAM after their talks with the United States.<sup>198</sup>

Since the topic of the present research is "Non-aligned Movement and Decolonization", attempt has been made to present as briefly as possible very extensive literature on NAM's development, struggle for independence from colonialism, surveying political situation in countries, which have achieved or are struggling to achieve independence.

### Conclusion

After the Second World War, the founding of the United Nations divided the world into two power blocs - USA and USSR, followed by

194. Ibid.

195. At Harare the number of member states was 103; The Times of India (Sunday), August 31, 1986.

196. The Times of India (New Delhi), June 7, 1988.

197. Ibid.

198. Ibid.

Cold War and military treaties, which threatened the independence and sovereignty of newly independent nations. The rise of nationalism and freedom movements in the dependent countries heralded the end of colonialism. The policy of suppression and aggression of Colonial Powers made the people conscious of the Big Power's rivalries. Nehru, Tito, Nasser and Nkrumah advocated the policy of neutrality and then of non-alignment with the main objective of affording peace and security to all the nations in the world. A large number of non-aligned countries embraced the policy of non-alignment. They planned for development in the field of industry and technology to make themselves independent of Western aid and to save their countries from becoming vassal states.

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## CHAPTER II

### DEVELOPMENT OF NON-ALIGNMENT

The Second World War destroyed Nazism and Fascism and also gave a tremendous blow to colonialism, infusing extraordinary power into the liberation and independence movements in Asia and Africa. The colonized peoples fought fearlessly for independence and gradually the colonial forces retreated from their colonies and, consequently, most of Asia and Africa became free from colonial subjugation. But, before they could achieve independence, their identity was long submerged, suppressed and distorted by the colonial governments. To reestablish their identity, they used their political power "to make independence a stepping stone to economic prosperity, social justice and spiritual and cultural well-being"<sup>1</sup>. For securing these objectives, each country required and still requires peace, stability and security not only inside but also outside the country. Peace, in the present world, has become a requisite sine qua non for smooth and all-round national development. Thus, to preserve national independence and national interests, it is indispensable to "contribute to the efforts to achieve world security, world justice, and world prosperity. With the achievement of world peace and security it is hoped that smooth co-operation with the outside world can be guaranteed. With the attainment of world prosperity it is hoped that technical, scientific and financial aid from outside will be more easily obtainable. With the existence of social justice in the world it is hoped that it will be easier to rectify social anomalies inside the country"<sup>2</sup>.

But, unfortunately, though the above objective and theory seemed very convincing and attractive, it was not easy to achieve, because, after the Second World War, the Western bloc led by the United States and the Eastern one led by the Soviet Union quarrelled to extend their respective spheres of influence, which became more pronounced and resulted in serious conflicts. The United States sponsored Marshall

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1. Bahruddin A. Ubani, 'Non-Alignment Defined', Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXV, No. 586, September 5, 1974, p. 7.

2. Ibid.

Plan<sup>3</sup> to reconstruct Western Europe in 1948 through the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). The Soviet Union sponsored the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance<sup>4</sup> (CMEA or COMECON) in 1949. The Cold War between the two Superpowers became increasingly fierce and resulted in the division of Germany, Korea, Vietnam and India each into two parts. The world seemed to be on the verge of the Third World War, which could be averted only through ensuring peace in the world. The Non-aligned Movement took this up as its main objective.

The aim of peace was not new. The Congress of Paris (1856), the London Conference (1871, 1912-1913), the Berlin Congresses (1878, 1884-1885), the Algiers Conference (1906) and the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) laid down the foundation of joint consultation for maintaining peace. The Hague Conference (1899 and 1907) envisaged solving this world problem. The establishment of the League of Nations in 1920, sought to solve the international problems. The Brussels Conference of Anti-Imperialist Congress of Oppressed Nationalities held in February, 1927, in Belgium, opened the eyes of Nehru<sup>5</sup>. It was attended by representatives from 136 organisations and colonised countries<sup>6</sup>. There were, among others, Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Dr. Hatta (Indonesia), Ho Chi Minh (North Vietnam), Leopold Senghor (Senegal) besides other Indonesian figures, such as Mohammad Nazir Datuk Pamuncak etc.<sup>7</sup> "The Conference gave them a deep understanding of the problems of the colonised countries and the struggle which would be world-wide in nature<sup>8</sup>...".

From 1927 to 1939 (till the start of the Second World War), the nationalist movements gained momentum. Pan-Africanism, emerged

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3. Usha Sud, Decolonization to World Order (New Delhi: National Publishing House, 1983), n. 187.

4. Ibid.

5. V.K.R.V. Rao, The Nehru Legacy (New Delhi: Popular Books), n. 22.

6. Bahruddin A. Ubani, 'Origin of Non-Alignment Policy', Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXVI, No. 598, March 5, 1975, p. 7.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.



with the formation of the Union of South Africa, which inspired the African National Congress in 1912, followed by a series of Pan-African Congresses in 1919. The inspiration grew in Asia and gave spirit to the African struggle. In 1945, the Africans held the Fifth African Congress in Manchester.

The War brought new ideas about colonialism and imperialism. The Imperialists called their possessions the White Man's Burden. They wanted to civilize and Christianize the backward nations. They argued that colonialism was necessary for emancipation. Contrarily, colonialism was given the meaning of suppression, brutality, exploitation, misery, hatred and degradation. Moon considered Imperialism nothing more than "domination of non-European native races by totally dissimilar European nations"<sup>9</sup>. The colonies, protectorates and dependent states were regarded valuable to the Colonialists for various purposes - economic gain, national prestige and national defence. The Imperialists had established their control in many ways - through military conquest, negotiations, bribery or gunpowder and fraud and economic penetration. France acclaimed the imperialistic programme of Jules Ferry in the early eighties and planted its tricolour on nearly three million square miles of soil and sand. German Bismark acquired a million square miles and Hitler had a plan of Greater Reich. Italy established Italian East Africa but during the Second World War lost everything. Leopold II of Belgium established the Congo Free State. Japan carved out a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere", rejected democracy and accepted industrial capitalism, militarism and imperialism, but her dreams of empire ended with her defeat in 1945. In the height of colonialism, Soviet Union, which had concentrated on domestic problems and on building up her industrial and military strength, was the only hope which made no serious effort toward territorial expansion and was the champion of the liberation of subject people and of anti-imperialism, though she had annexed 264,000 square miles of land and as satellites parts of all of eleven countries to the extent of more than five million square miles<sup>10</sup>. The Soviet expansionism created

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9. Parker T. Moon, Imperialism and World Politics (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), p. 33.

10. Norman D. Palmer, International Relations: The World Community in Transition (Calcutta: Scientific Book Agency, 3rd edn., 1970), p. 170.

anxiety in much of the non-Communist world. In mid-1920s, half the world's land area and one-third of the human race had a colonial status.<sup>11</sup> In view of this situation, the advocates of the policy of non-alignment with Power blocs were attempting to transform their thoughts into action. Fortunately, after the War, the political atmosphere became congenial for them to launch their policy as a movement.

There were movements for independence in almost all the colonial countries which were achieving independence one after another; but they had to face a lot of resistance and bloodshed and sacrifices. The parting of ways of the US and the USSR and their encircling small nations made non-alignment popular among newly liberated countries. Further, as they needed much assistance from the Superpowers for national development, they did not want to oppose them openly. For instance, Nehru on March 15, 1946, declared that free India would be friendly with America, Russia and England and would not entangle herself in relation to military alliances.<sup>12</sup> Because joining one bloc meant to take arms against another and because of her weak position she could lose her sovereignty and independence. Thus, the first aim was to save the independence. This policy created the state of neutrality, which soon changed into non-alignment. The Non-aligned Movement gained commendable success in expediting decolonization through the United Nations, as the newly independent countries, charmed by the noble objective of the Movement and afraid of possible domination by Superpowers, joined it and pushed its proposals in the United Nations. The success of the Movement may be assessed by the fact that while on the eve of the First World War, the three leading colonial powers, Britain, France and Germany, had, between them, colonial possessions covering a total area of 47 million square kilometers and on the eve of the Second World War, in 1939, England, France, Italy and Japan occupied 50.2 million square kilometers. After the Second World War, as the Non-aligned Movement began its anti-colonial revolution, the colonial possessions rapidly decreased.

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11. Parker T. Moon, n. 9, p. 513.

12. J.S. Bright (ed.), Before And After Independence (New Delhi: Indian Printing Works, n.d.), pp. 358-60.

In view of the wave of emancipation, struggle for independence and because of oppressive acts by the Colonial masters, Nehru thought to assess the world opinion and called for the Asian Relations Conference, which was presided over by Sarojini Naidu in the Purana Qila in New Delhi on March 23, 1947. It was attended by twenty-eight Asian and African nations, including prominent figures like S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, and delegates from China, Egypt, Iran, the Arab countries of West Asia, Indonesia, Indo-China, Turkey, Korea, Mongolia, Siam, Malaya, the Philippines, Soviet Republic of Asia, Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and Ceylon. Observers were from Australia and New Zealand. The Conference provided the leaders and freedom fighters "a wide opportunity to strengthen their relations ... and to have a platform to voice the Asian spirit<sup>13</sup>" and the spirit of liberty, which were burning in their hearts.

By August, 1949, Jordan, the Philippines, Pakistan, India, Burma, Sri Lanka and Korea had become independent. Israel was created as a tool by the Western powers through a UN resolution in 1947 in the heart of the Arab homeland, which caused total disruption in the area, and which endangered international peace and security. The West chose sides and decided to patronize them as and when their own interests demanded it<sup>14</sup>. The new states, in view of the two giant blocs, decided to support efforts beneficial to national interests, lessening world tension and achieving peace and security, prosperity and social justice. They also decided actively to initiate similar efforts. They supported the independence movements when, in 1947, Britain and France were still colonising Asia while Holland was trying hard to recolonise Indonesia. The polarisation of the world into the Western and the Eastern blocs became more clear. Thus, they faced not only colonialism and imperialism but also the Cold War.

When the Netherlands Government launched a second police action in Indonesia in December, 1948, Nehru took the initiative and called an emergency conference in New Delhi on January 20, 1949. The conference

13. Bahruddin A. Ubani, n. 6, p. 7.

14. Shah Abdul Qayyum, The Arab-Israel Conflict (Aligarh: Centre of West Asian Studies, 1975), Preface, p. i.

was attended by eighteen nations - Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen. China, Nepal, New Zealand and Siam (Thailand) sent observers. Nehru, in his presidential address, <sup>15</sup>said:

"We meet today, because the freedom of a sister country of ours has been imperilled and a dying colonialism of the past has raised its head again and challenged all the forces that are struggling to build up a new structure of the world".

The conference was unanimous in supporting Nehru's voice for international peace and security and the United States also, in consequence, recognised the Dutch evacuation and the sovereignty of Indonesia in November, 194<sup>16</sup>9. The United States favoured the independence of Indonesia, because the presence of Dutch in the region was hostile to its interest.

On June 25, 1950, the United States attacked North Korea to check Communism. Korea, under the Potsdam Agreements of July, 1945, was temporarily divided. The North, occupied by the Soviet Union, was named People's Democratic Republic of Korea (PDRK) and the South was called Republic of Korea. In December, 1948, Soviet forces withdrew from the North in fulfilment of the Moscow Agreement (1947), but the United States continued to occupy the South. The North was headed by Kim Il Sung as the Prime Minister. The objective of the attack was to check expansion of socialism in North Korea. There were agrarian reforms in the North, while the South was denied even the elementary human rights. China sent one million volunteers to help the North. The Afro-Asian states, at the UN headquarters in New York met on December 15, 1950, to consider their joint stand on the war in Korea. It was attended by fourteen countries - India, Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and the Philippines. <sup>17</sup>Barring Sri Lanka, Australia

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15. Jyoti Sengupta, Non-Alignment: Search for a Destination (Calcutta: Naya Prokash, 1979), p. 12.

16. Dr. Ivo Dvorak, The Non-Aligned Countries (Havana: Presna Latina, 1982), p. 300.

17. Subrata Banerjee, Non-Alignment Today: Challenges and Prospects (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1985), p. 30.

and the Philippines, the other participants formed the Afro-Asian group, the joint action of which caused the end of the war and a truce was signed<sup>18</sup> in Korea on July 27, 1953, and Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam contributed to a settlement, arrived at on July 20 and 21, 1954.

The Baguio (Manila) Conference in the Philippines, which was held from May 26 to 30, 1950, at the invitation of President Elpidio Quirino, was attended by Australia, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand. As, in the meanwhile President Quirino had died, General Romulo presided over the meeting and said: "The remedy which most of our countries require is not military action but action to forestall internal subversion"<sup>19</sup>. He referred to the fact that though the United States recognised independent Republic of the Philippines, as promised in 1946, but by a forced agreement the United States had secured right to deploy military, naval and air forces in the Islands.

In Vietnam, the French, supported by Britain, launched an aggressive war on September 23, 1945, against the Japanese to disarm them in the South. Chiang Kaishek's forces entered the North under the same pretext. The Vietnamese supported them as during 1944-45 more than two million people in the North had died of starvation due to ruthless exploitation by Japan. The National Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party held a Congress at Hanoi in 1951. The Congress, attacking the British said:<sup>20</sup>

"Hardly a month after our declaration of independence, British troops entered the South. Under the pretence of disarming the Japanese army, they acted as an expeditionary corps helping the French colonialists in their attempt to re-occupy the country".

In Burma, after the assassination of Aun San by reactionary forces, U NU assumed the office of Prime Minister. The Aun San assassination created so much indignation that the British were forced to grant

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18. Lazar Maisov, Dimensions of Non-Alignment (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska Stvarnost, 1981), p. 86.

19. Jyoti Sen Gupta, n. 15, p. 11.

20. Ibid., n. 16.

independence on January 4, 1948, but the reactionary forces, supported from abroad, ignited a civil war. In this tense political situation, after a preliminary meeting, held in Rangoon in March, 1952, the Asian Socialist Conference was convened in the same city in January, 1953, which was joined by the left wing of national liberation movements from certain Asian countries. The Conference adopted resolutions on the "principles and objectives of Socialism". The Conference was attended by representatives of the Socialist Alliance and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The Conferences of the Afro-Asian states in 1947 and 1950 were the first to pave the way for formulation of basic principles of non-alignment. Impressed by the conclusions of these conferences, Nehru wished to formulate certain principles for world peace. Adopting the non-partisan policy of India and the Gandhian moralist traditions, Nehru signed the India-China Joint Agreement<sup>21</sup> on April 29, 1954, on Tibet called the Panchsheel or the Five Principles, which was the second major step in the direction of Non-alignment. The five principles were:<sup>22</sup>

- "(1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- (2) Mutual non-aggression;
- (3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- (4) Equality and mutual benefit; and
- (5) Peaceful co-existence".

As a Panchsheel signatory, Chou En-lai had been visiting Nehru on the one hand, and, on the other, adopted tactics to gain confidence of both the French and Viet Minh. He also called on U Nu in Rangoon. With the exception of major Western Powers, it was, within three years,

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21. 'India-China Agreement on Tibet', 29th April 1954', in Foreign Policy of India : Texts of Documents (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, various editions).

22. Peter Willetts, The Non-Aligned Movement : The Origins of a Third World Alliance (Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt.Ltd., 1968), n. 7; see also Subrata Benerjee, Non-alignment Today : Challenges and Prospects, n. 17, pp. 30-31.

endorsed by eighteen countries in Joint Communiqué or Joint Statements with various Indian leaders.<sup>23</sup>

The British India was partitioned into two sovereign states - India and Pakistan, established on 15 and 14 August, 1947 respectively. Pakistan based its foreign policy on rivalry with India and joined CENTO, permitted US military bases in Pakistan and crushed the Communists. Despite this, C.C. Desai (India) persuaded Sir John Kotelawala, Ceylonese Prime Minister, that Pakistan should anyhow be brought to the conference at Colombo. In 1953, Pakistan had signed a Mutual Security Pact with the United States. Under this tense global situation, the Colombo Conference was held from April 28 to May 2, 1954, which was attended by Nehru, Mohammed Ali, U Nu, Dr. Sastroamidjojo and Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon.

On April 28, 1954, Sir John referred to the dangers of war, Communism, Western attempts to perpetuate colonial rule, race in atomic weapons, crisis in Indo-China and the hydrogen bomb. Mohammed Ali described the Kashmir issue as the biggest danger to peace in South Asia. Dr. Sastroamidjojo referred to the explosion of the hydrogen bomb as the cause of mounting tension in the world. U Nu emphasised the importance of cooperation and mutual help between the countries in the field of economic development. On May 2, 1954, the Conference issued its decisions. It adopted resolutions against hydrogen bomb, and for admission of Communist China to the United Nations. It denounced colonialism, supported independence of Tunisia and Morocco, condemned Israel and asserted economic cooperation. They also adopted the principles of respecting the sovereignty of each country and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of others.<sup>24</sup>

### Geneva Conference

The Conference lasted for 74 days from May 8 to July 21, 1954. It was attended, among others, by five major powers<sup>25</sup> represented by

23. 'Panchsheel' : Its Meaning and History (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, 5th edn.), pp. 38-42; see also Peter Willetts, Ibid., p. 7.

24. Jyoti Sengupta, n. 15, pp. 60-63.

25. Ibid., p. 72.

Vyacheslav M. Molotov (USSR), Chou En-lai (China), Anthony Eden (UK), George Bidault, who was later replaced by Pierre Mendes (France) and Walter Bedell Smith (USA). From New Delhi, Nehru guided Krishna Menon, Nehru's 'Six-Point Plan' for peace in Indo-China was accepted on April 24, 1954. "Despite American opposition to India's participation either in the Korean or the Indo-Chinese conference in Geneva, Indian involvement in both was considerable"<sup>26</sup>. The Indo-China Conference at Geneva was important as it was to discuss the alternative of the Third World War. Krishna Menon said: "the British said definitely to the Americans that they would not agree to the (US) aircraft carriers going to the Indo-China area. Dulles wanted to wage war"<sup>27</sup>. Further, "the Geneva Agreements placed the responsibility for armistice settlement's maintenance on the combatants - France and Vietnam"<sup>28</sup>. Moreover, the Agreement set out the composition of the Commissions with Canada, Poland and India, under the Chairmanship of India. The Geneva Accords were set out under the influence of India, one of the main leaders of Non-aligned Movement. They were the fruits of non-alignment.

On August 1, 1954, Nehru inaugurated a conference of the representatives of the three Governments - India, Canada and Poland. The Commission brought about ceasefire in Vietnam and provided for the conferment of independence on the three states - Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and also safeguarded their sovereignty on the basis of pledges of mutual respect of each other's sovereignty and undertaking not to enter into military alliances with other states. But when the International Commission withdrew, the whole area was again became a battleground. Ho Chi Minh said: "The Americans have used every means to sabotage the Geneva Conference ... US imperialism is the main enemy of world peace"<sup>29</sup>.

In view of the growing influence of non-aligned countries, the Western powers concluded on September 8, 1954, the South-East Asia

26. Ibid., p. 74.

27. Ibid., p. 72.

28. Ibid., p. 76.

29. Ibid.



Treaty Organisation (SEATO). The signatories were the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines, who pledged themselves to "strengthen their free institutions"<sup>30</sup> and set a common goal to check Communism. Washington viewed "SEATO as a link in the system of alliances in Asia and the Pacific"<sup>31</sup>. The Pakistan Times reported: "... the Military Pact created an extremely dangerous situation ... that will restrict Pakistan's freedom in the international field, create a danger of Pakistan becoming a theatre of war in a conflict which will not be of Pakistan's seeking, ... and is likely to allow foreign influence to affect Pakistan's domestic policies"<sup>32</sup>. The 'Treaty Area' mentioned in the Treaty was "the general area of South-East Asia ... and the general area of South-West Pacific"<sup>33</sup>. Thus, the countries concerned could expand that area saying "This is also in our area", which could endanger peace and cause war, and the signatories could intervene in the internal affairs of other countries.

After the Accords, the United States and China began to undo the commendable effort the three Commissions had made. China sent arms to North Vietnam and the United States to the South. Thus, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos became areas of armed conflict.

#### Bogor Conference (December, 1954)

The Prime Ministers of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan and India met at Bogor (Indonesia) in December, 1954, to prepare the agenda for the proposed Asian-African Conference to be held at Bandung. Israel and the Arab countries were included in the list of participants. Thus, the Colombo move grew into an international system. Nehru spoke of one world. He said: "We want to live in peace and cooperation with other countries, whether of Europe or Africa or America or any other part of the world"<sup>34</sup>.

30. Ibid., p. 83.

31. Ibid., pp. 83-84.

32. The Pakistan Times (Lahore), January 14, 1954.

33. Jyoti Sengupta, n. 15, p. 84.

34. Ibid., p. 97.

### Tito's Peace Mission

Josip Broz Tito, in December, 1954, set sail on the ship "Galeb" for India and other Asian countries on his first great "Peace Mission". In his historic address to the Indian Parliament on December 21, 1954, and to the Rangoon University on January 16, 1955, and in the communiques<sup>35</sup> signed on those occasions, he stressed the need "to increase the number of nations and states fighting for equitable relations, for peaceful cooperation among peoples and active co-existence"<sup>36</sup>. On his way back to home, Tito met Nasser on February 5, 1955, when the "Officers' Revolution" and the overthrow of the feudal social system in Egypt had heightened anti-colonial and liberation struggles in Africa. Their meeting gave impetus to the movement of non-alignment, bringing non-aligned countries to the point of joint action. Tito toured the newly liberated countries, including Ethiopia in December, 1955. On June 2, 1955, Yugoslavia and USSR had signed a Joint Communique. Nehru visited Yugoslavia on July 2, 1955<sup>37</sup>. The visits, joint communiques and addresses yielded the idea of active peaceful co-existence. Since 1955-56, Yugoslavia's relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe improved greatly and had become stable and friendly. At the same time, Tito emerged as one of the leaders of the "neutralist" countries and established close relations with Nasser and Nehru.

### Bandung Conference (April, 1955)

The Afro-Asian Conference, held at Bandung (Indonesia) on April 9-24, 1955, was attended by twenty-nine states of Asia and Africa. There were Communists (China and North Vietnam) and Western allies (Turkey, the Philippines and South Vietnam). "The importance of Bandung was that for the first time a group of former colonial territories had

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35. Nehru and Tito signed a joint communique on December 22, 1954. President Tito and President U Nu of the Union of Burma signed a joint communique on January 17, 1955. Nehru and Tito signed another communique on July 7, 1955.
36. Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia in the Struggle for Independence and Non-Alignment (Belgrade), p. 392.
37. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XX, No. 461, June 20, 1969, p. 14.

met together without any of the European powers and to all those taking part this was an assertion of their independence<sup>38</sup>". Opening the Conference, the Chairman, Dr. Achmed Soekarno, said that it was the first international conference of 'coloured peoples', who had the feeling of solidarity for a common struggle against European imperialism. Though Pakistan taking side of the United States, objected almost at every step in the framing of the draft declaration, the representatives of about 65 per cent of the world's population adopted the principle that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end"<sup>39</sup>".

Different proposals of committees, finalised in Ten Principles<sup>40</sup>, partially incorporated the Panchsheel:

- "1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
- 6.(a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interest of any of the big powers.
- (b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries.
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiations, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

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38. Peter Willetts, n.22, n. 3.

39. Deva Narayan Mallik, The Development of Non-Alignment in India's Foreign Policy (Allahabad: Chaitanya Publishing House, 1967), p.175.

40. Milos Dromniak, n. 42, p. 105.

9. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation.
10. Respect for justice and international obligations".

A Committee drafted a Declaration under Nasser and devoted to the problems of human rights and self-determination, problems of dependent peoples, promotion of world peace and cooperation including the problem of Palestine and the plight of the refugees, the problems of Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, West Irian and Aden. However, the principles endorsed military pacts and omitted the proclamation of "co-existence"<sup>41</sup>. The principle of "co-existence" was emphasised in the Tito-Nehru 14-point Joint Declaration. They worked for "lowering of world tensions", "development of collective peace" and "peaceful co-existence"<sup>42</sup>.

#### Bandung and After

After the Bandung Conference, Nehru started getting hard knocks from Chou En-lai. Ceylon and Pakistan were anti-Communist. Peking sent a letter to Karachi (then Pakistan's capital) desiring good relations with Pakistan in order to turn Pakistan against India and invaded India on September 8, 1962. The US military forced the Chinese to withdraw. The Soviet Union did not wage war against China being a Communist country. However, Morozoff said: "We want you to fight, and if you like, with our arms and support"<sup>43</sup>. Nasser concluded:<sup>44</sup>

"Each one of us has to be strong enough militarily because strategically placed as we are on the globe there will be attacks which we must be able to resist. Any attack on us is attack on non-alignment".

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41. G.H. Jansen, Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), Chapter IX. The fifth of the ten principles asserted "Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations", see "Final Communique" of the Bandung Conference, 24 April, 1955", in N. Frank and P. Woodcock (eds.), Documents on International Affairs, 1955 (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs and Oxford University Press, 1958), pp.429-36.
  42. Milos Dromnjak, The Policy and Movement of Non-Alignment, 1961-1979: A Survey of Participants and Activities (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska Stvarnost, 1979), pp. 103-05.
  43. Jyoti Sengupta, n.15, p.109.
  44. Ibid., p. 110.

Ceylon also joined the Western Camp. In 1956, SWRD Bandaranaike terminated all agreements with Britain and was assassinated on September 26, 1959. His wife, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, led SLFP to victory and became the first woman Prime Minister. She assumed office on July 21, 1960, and based her foreign policy on the principles of co-existence and non-alignment. She changed the name of her country from Ceylon to Sri Lanka. She said: "Ceylon extends the hand of friendship to all countries"<sup>45</sup>.

Brioni Meeting (Yugoslavia), July, 1956

Tito, Nehru and Nasser resumed talks on July 18-19, 1956, on Brioni Island and enlarged the frontiers of non-alignment to cover Europe and Latin America and to strengthen the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations, which was under domination of US leadership as twenty-one Latin American states were in its orbit. The trio discussed the problems of peace and danger of war, measures for easing tensions and collective security. They concluded: "Peace cannot be achieved through division, but by working for collective security on a world scale and by expanding the region of freedoms as well as by terminating the domination of one country over another"<sup>46</sup>. Their meeting adopted a 12-point programme, which served as a platform for coordinating the policies of non-aligned countries.

The Bandung Conference was followed by the Conference in Accra in 1958, and the Conference in Addis Ababa in 1960, which resulted in the draft resolution submitted by forty-three Afro-Asian countries before the XVth General Assembly of the United Nations (UN Resolution 1514 (XV), December 14, 1960) which aimed at the complete elimination of colonialism in whatever form or whatever manifestation.

<sup>47</sup> The Paris Peace Conference, held in May, 1960, set itself two tasks - one "to define positions and sum up demands of the non-aligned

45. Ibid., p. 112.

46. Milos Minic, The Foreign Policy of Yugoslavia, 1973-1979, p. 358, in Lazar Mojsosv, n. 18, p. 90.

47. 'Development and Effects of Non-Aligned Policy', Review of International Affairs, Vol. XX No. 461, June 20, 1969, p. 15.

countries in terms of the most pressing problems of peace, peaceful relations and international cooperation" and another "to intervene, by a special, direct action, for the purpose of preserving peace which stood threatened by the aggravation in relations between the USA and USSR". The Declaration and Statements were despatched to Kennedy and Khrushchev to continue the negotiations so as to eliminate danger of war. The Declaration emphasised "the liquidation of colonialism, the struggle against imperialism, support for national liberation movement, disarmament, economic and social problems emerging from the liquidation of colonialism, problems of developing countries, active and peaceful co-existence and so on"<sup>48</sup>.

In view of the increased tension, Yugoslavia convened at Belgrade a meeting of Tito, Nasser, Nehru, Sukarno and Nkrumah, who took joint action for decolonization in September, 1960, at the UN General Assembly, which was the first meeting of the Non-aligned countries. On October 12, 1960, in Belgrade, Tito called this a "new phenomenon" and a "new force", which had already "come to expression" despite opposition from the Big Powers. The Western circles attempted to disunite this force, but they could not succeed. The developing countries though needing Western assistance, did not yield. Sukarno said, "Each one of us arrived at this policy inspired by common ideals, spurred by similar circumstances, imbued with similar experiences"<sup>49</sup>.

From February 13 to April 23, 1961, Tito toured nine countries of Africa and planned to hold a conference. The conference, held in Cairo (Egypt) from June 5 - 12, 1961, was attended by twenty-one Asian, African, Arab and Latin American countries. Brazil was represented by an observer. The meeting adopted a provisional agenda for consideration of the Belgrade Conference, including, among others, struggle against imperialism, liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and Apartheid, disarmament and peaceful co-existence<sup>50</sup>.

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48. Ibid.

49. R. Petkovic, Tito and Non-Alignment (Belgrade), p. 28, in Lazar Mosjsov, n. 18, p. 93.

50. See for further details Two Decades of Non-Alignment: Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs Government of India, 1983), p. 2.

First Summit (Belgrade), September, 1961

The first summit of the twenty-five Heads of State or Governments of non-aligned countries and three countries as observers<sup>51</sup>, was held in Belgrade from September 1-6, 1961, which was opened by Tito. The Conference considered only a five-item agenda and declared that peace can be achieved only through elimination of "colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations"<sup>52</sup> and demanded that the dependent peoples should be enabled to exercise "their right to complete independence"<sup>53</sup>. They considered the problems of the peoples of Algeria, Tunisia, Congo, Palestine, Cuba and Angola and stressed immediate termination of colonial occupation and withdrawal of foreign forces from their national soil. Further, it was also considered by them imperative "to remove economic imbalances inherited from colonialism and imperialism"<sup>54</sup>. They sent a similar message to President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev requesting them for maintenance of peace in the world.

The Conference recognised the territorial integrity of Algeria including Sahara; expressed concern over repressive measures of Portugal in Angola; demanded immediate evacuation of French armed forces from Tunisia and ending tragic events in Congo; condemned the policy of Apartheid practised by the Union of South Africa; observed that the permanence of North American military base at Guantanamo affected the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cuba. As the military bases and armament is the cause of forced interference, intervention, aggression and occupation of other countries, the participants stressed that "general and complete disarmament should include the elimination of armed forces, armaments, foreign bases, manufacture of arms as well as the elimination of institutions and installations for military training, except for purposes of international security; and total prohibition of the production, possession and

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51. See Appendix I; see also The Non-Aligned Countries (London: Harney and Jones Limited, 2nd rev. edn., 1982), p. 13.

52. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. VII, No. 461, June 20, 1969, p. 17.

53. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 7.

54. Ibid., p. 8.

utilization of nuclear and thermo-nuclear arms, bacteriological and chemical weapons as well as the elimination of equipment and installations for the delivery and placement and operational use of weapons of mass destruction on national territories<sup>55</sup>". They asked the Superpowers to conclude a treaty for complete disarmament and release the energy and resources "for the peaceful economic and social development of all mankind"<sup>56</sup>.

Haile Selassie, on September 2, calling for "speedy implementation" of the UN resolution on Bizerta, said that "no effort should be spared to avoid further bloodshed"<sup>57</sup>. President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, on the same day, referring to the Soviet explosion of a nuclear device on August 31, 1961, said that it was "a shock to him" as it "forcibly brings home the supreme danger facing mankind, the imperative necessity for peace, and the urgent need to sign a treaty for complete and general disarmament". Nkrumah, among others, proposed complete disarmament and "complete liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations by December 31, 1962"<sup>58</sup> and that "Africa must be declared a nuclear-free zone"<sup>59</sup>.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on September 2, speaking on war and peace in view of the Soviet explosion, asserted that the situation has been created by the United States and the Soviet Union. He said: "The world has arrived at a position today when there was no choice left between negotiations of peace and war". He also said: "If we refuse to negotiate, then they must inevitably go to war"<sup>60</sup>. He commended Algeria, which "paid a fantastic price in human life and suffering in its struggle for freedom" and also sympathised with the Angolan people's struggle for freedom. About South Africa, Nehru said that "in South Africa we have the supreme symbol of racial arrogance, racial

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55. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), n. 52, n. 19.

56. Ibid.

57. Attar Chand, Nonaligned States: A Great Leap Forward (Delhi: UDH Publishers, 1983), n. 170.

58. Ibid., n. 177.

59. Ibid., p. 178.

60. Ibid., p. 188.



discrimination, apartheid and all that - an intolerable situation". Nehru added: "There is Tunisia with its recent extraordinary experience at Bizerta. The very idea of foreign bases in a country seems extraordinary to me. I do not understand how any country can profit in a base in a country which opposes that base".<sup>61</sup>

In view of the deteriorating economic position of the Third World, Tito, Nasser and Nehru convened an economic conference of non-aligned countries in Cairo between November 17 and 20, 1961. Another conference between July 8 and 12, 1962, which was attended by thirty-six countries and five observer countries, was convened by India, Yugoslavia and the UAR. The Conference adopted a 'Declaration of Developing Countries', which set out their economic position, problems and requirements of their development and their relations with the industrially advanced countries. Tito and Nasser met on May 16, 1963, on Brioni Island, and on October 13, 1963, Nasser and Srimavo Bandaranaike met in Cairo. They issued joint communiques, stressing the need to hold a conference at Colombo.

The Colombo conference was held from March 23 - 28, 1964, on the invitation of Tito, Nasser and Mrs. Bandaranaike under the Chairmanship of His Excellency Sam P.C. Fernando, the Ceylonese Ambassador to the UAR. It was attended by twenty-three countries<sup>62</sup> and by Bolivia and Brazil as observers. The draft agenda included, among others, the items considered at Belgrade (1961). They decided to hold a second summit in Cairo and, to make necessary arrangements to form a Standing Committee.

#### Second Summit (Cairo), October, 1964

The second Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries was held from October 5 - 10, 1964, in Cairo. Forty-seven countries, ten observers and many organisations and parties participated.<sup>63</sup> The agenda, *inter alia*, included consideration of positive role of new states, national liberation movements and

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61. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

62. *Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, n. 50, p. 13.

63. See *Appendix II*.

"concerted action for the liberation of the countries still dependent, elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and condemnation of racial discrimination and the policy of Apartheid". They called for "unconditional, complete and final abolition of colonialism", condemned "all colonialist, neo-colonialist and imperialist policies applied in various parts of the world", advocated the "process of liberation" resort to arms to secure their right to self-determination and independence;<sup>64</sup> supported the freedom fighters in different parts of the world; and demanding imposition of sanction against the Pretoria Government. The Conference adopted nine fundamental principles of co-existence.<sup>65</sup>

At the Second African-Asian Conference, attended by more than sixty Asian and African countries, the Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi, at a Press Conference on September 29, 1965, asked it to show the Bandung spirit by supporting "the people of Viet Nam, Laos, the Congo (Leopoldville), the Dominican Republic, Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, South Africa, the Arab people of Palestine, and the people of South Yemen, Malaya, Singapore and North Kalimantan in their struggles against the aggression of the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists headed by the United States".<sup>66</sup> He accused the US imperialism of trying to sabotage this conference and asked the conference to condemn US imperialism for its aggressions throughout the world, by invoking the Bandung spirit, lest it should lose its significance. He added that some newly independent countries did not openly denounce US imperialism "because of their need for US aid to solve the bread question".<sup>67</sup> He opined "If one relies on US aid, one will get less and less bread, while relying on one's own efforts one will get more and more. So far as certain countries are concerned, the more they denounce US imperialism the more bread they will probably get from it, otherwise they will not get any. Such is the character of US imperialism - bullying the weak-kneed and fearing the strong".<sup>68</sup> He suggested to resolve "declaring the

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64. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, n. 18.

65. Ibid., p. 21.

66. Attar Chand, n. 57, p. 154.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid., p. 155.

cancellation of all debts which Afro-Asian countries owe to the United States<sup>69</sup>".

Opposing the UN participation in the conference, the Chinese Foreign Minister said that U Thant "is not the head of the United Nations; the head of the United is the United States"<sup>70</sup>. The reason of Chinese opposition to UN participation was that the United Nations had excluded China for sixteen years. Toasting for the success of the Non-aligned Movement, the Chinese Foreign Minister further said: "Joint struggle against imperialism is possibly only when no one imposes his will on others"<sup>71</sup>. Regarding the participation of the Soviet Union in the conference, he observed: "the Soviet Union is by tradition a European country, and there is no reason for its participation in the African-Asian Conference". The Soviet Union did not ask for participation in the First Asian-African Conference. At that time, Prime Minister Nehru openly declared that "the Soviet Union, a European country, was not to be invited"<sup>72</sup>.

A meeting of Foreign Ministers of NAM countries at the UN Headquarters in New York on September 27, 1969, stressed the need for joint action. It was attended by fifty-three countries with observers from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Peru and Venezuela. The participants agreed to hold a meeting early in 1970.

The Preparatory Meeting of the Non-Aligned Countries to hold the Third Summit was convened in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) from April 13-17, 1970, at the invitation of the host country, Tanzania. The Conference emphasised economic self-reliance and international cooperation among the non-aligned countries on the basis of equality of all nations, big and small, called for withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab lands, reaffirmed the full restoration of the Arab people of Palestine to their usurped homeland, supported the Palestinian struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism, demanded immediate

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., p. 156.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam, condemned the colonial and fascist regime of Portugal, the Apartheid regime of South Africa and the illegal racist minority regime in Zimbabwe, noted with concern the disregard of UN resolutions by South Africa and stressed the implementation of the UN Declaration. The meeting formed a Standing Committee of sixteen members to make preparations for the Third Summit at Lusaka. The Conference, among other things, extended support "to the liberation struggle of the peoples of Vietnam, Portuguese colonies, Palestine, South Africa and Rhodesia which were fighting for freedom and the right to self-determination".<sup>73</sup>

### Third Summit (Lusaka), September, 1970

The Third Summit of Heads of State or Government of fifty-four Non-aligned Countries was held in Lusaka (Zambia) from September 8-10, 1970, attended by observers from ten countries and eight national liberation movements.<sup>74</sup> The important items of agenda were liberation of countries and support to liberation movements, abolition of all forms of racial discrimination and neo-colonialism. The participants decided to take the following measures<sup>75</sup> against Portugal, South Africa and Zimbabwe: "(a) To impose an embargo on trade; (b) To sever diplomatic relations; (c) To deny landing rights and all facilities to any air craft or vessel; (d) To make substantial contribution to the Special Fund of the OAU Liberation Committee; (e) To increase support and material aid to liberation movements through OAU". The participants requested the Chairman "to contact in the most appropriate manner the NATO countries ... to put an immediate end to their assistance which directly or indirectly strengthens the regimes of colonial and racist oppression".<sup>76</sup> They condemned the presence of South African forces in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe and demanded their "immediate and unconditional withdrawal".<sup>77</sup> The Conference adopted detailed resolutions

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73. Dr. Ranko Petkovic, 'Points of Orientation for Dar es Salaam', Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XX, No. 472, December 5, 1969, p. 8.

74. See Appendix III; see also The Non-Aligned Countries, n.51, p.14.

75. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 52.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

in support of the people of Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe and Cyprus, and called for immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory. They stressed also disarmament and peaceful use of sea-bed.

On September 16-18 and 30, 1971, representatives of non-aligned countries to the United Nations met at the UN Headquarters and reiterated the previous resolutions. They affirmed the struggle of people for freedom and expressed concern over "abnormal movement of millions of people across international frontiers into India"<sup>78</sup> and "lack of progress in solving the Middle East crisis"<sup>79</sup>. In pursuance of the decisions of the meeting, a Ministerial Consultative Meeting of the Non-aligned countries was held on October 1, 1971.

The Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned countries held a conference in Georgetown (Guyana) from August 8-12, 1972, which was attended by fifty-nine countries, eleven observers and nine organisations. They noted the continued aggression of imperialists in various parts of the world, particularly in Indochina, in the Middle East and in Africa and were convinced that "a further lessening of military blocs would advance the general cause of the peace"<sup>80</sup>. They demanded "dismantling of all foreign military bases in different regions of the world"<sup>81</sup> and making the Mediterranean and Indian Oceans areas of peace and cooperation. They appreciated the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of five countries declaring South East Asia a zone of peace. They were disappointed to note the complete rejection of Lusaka Manifesto by the racist powers. They supported freedom struggles being launched in Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia and expressed solidarity with the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos for their self-determination. They were convinced that the independence of Latin American countries would strengthen international peace and security. They were determined "to give effective assistance to all colonial peoples struggling for self-determination

78. Ibid., p. 64.

79. Ibid., p. 65.

80. Ibid., p. 71.

81. Ibid.

and independence"<sup>82</sup>. Moreover, they undertook, inter alia, as follows:<sup>83</sup>

- "(iv) to intensify efforts to bring to an end all wars of aggression and foreign occupation of territory;
- (v) to endeavour by all means to liquidate all remaining traces of colonialism and racial discrimination, in particular by increasing support for liberation movements in colonial territories and for the efforts of the United Nations in these respects;
- (vi) to consider ways and means of establishing a method of providing systematic finance, armaments and training for the liberation movements of Africa".

The Preparatory Committee, appointed by the Georgetown Conference, met in Kabul (Afghanistan) from May 13-15, 1973, to consider preparation for the Fourth Summit. It was attended by seventeen countries, five observers and one as guest. The Committee condemned the "colonial and racist policies of South Africa, the failure of the UK Government to bring down the illegal minority regime in South Rhodesia, and war being waged by Portugal against the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau"<sup>84</sup>, and aggression of racist regimes against "Guinea, People's Republic of Congo, Senegal, United Republic of Tanzania, Zaire and Zambia, because of their steadfast support to the liberation movements". Further, the Conference welcomed the Paris Agreements, which restored peace in Vietnam, and also Vientiane Agreement, which had produced national concord in Laos, desiring their faithful implementation.

#### Fourth Summit (Algiers), September, 1973

The Fourth Summit of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned countries was held in Algiers (Algeria) from September 5-9, 1973. At it there were participants from seventy-five countries, observers from twenty-three nations and three guest countries.<sup>85</sup> The items contained on its agenda were strengthening world peace and security, peaceful co-existence, joint measures and concerted efforts for combating aggression, eliminating foreign occupation and threats to independence,

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82. Ibid., p. 82.

83. Ibid., p. 75.

84. Ibid., p. 88.

85. See Appendix IV; see also The Non-Aligned Countries, n.51, p. 14.

intensification of measures to combat colonialism, Apartheid, and racial discrimination, and measures to assist peoples and countries which were victims of aggression, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The prominent decisions that were taken at the Conference were the "joining of forces, greater self-reliance, mutual solidarity, and the willingness to work together"<sup>86</sup>. They observed, "So long as there are colonial wars, Apartheid, imperialist aggression, power politics and economic exploitation and plundering, peace will be limited both in principle and in scope"<sup>87</sup>. Reiterating their earlier demand regarding military bases and Israel, they denounced "the refusal of the United States of America and the Saigon administration to strictly observe the Paris Agreements". They also hailed the victory of the Cambodian people and condemned the US bombing of Cambodia, US support to Phnom Penh regime and US interference in Cambodian internal affairs. They recognised the Royal Government of National Unity of Cambodia with Prince Norodom Sihanouk as Head of State. They reiterated that "armed conflict is the only way to end colonial and racial discrimination"<sup>88</sup> in Africa and Latin America and adopted suitable resolutions regarding Indian Ocean, Puerto Rico, Middle East, Palestine, South Africa, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Namibia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Korea, Comoros Islands, Spanish Sahara, French Somalis and Israel.

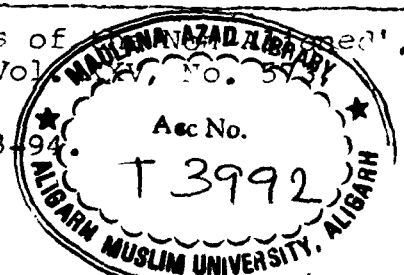
Murtadha Saeed Abdul Baqi, Foreign Minister of Iraq, on September 7, 1973, said that imperialism, led by the United States of America "goes on committing aggression on the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia with the object of debarring them from exercising their will in regard to independence and unity" and "proceeds with spinning plots involving meddling in the domestic affairs of Latin American countries with the object of impeding their revolution and opposing their independence". The Foreign Minister called upon the NAM members "to boycott Israel politically and economically and have it expelled from all international organisations and render full backing to the rights of the Arab people of Palestine"<sup>89</sup>. He emphasised

86. Berislav Badurina, 'Unity and Joint Actions of Peoples', *Review of International Affairs* (Belgrade), Vol. 1, No. 3, February 20, 1974, p. 1.

87. *Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, n. 50, pp. 93-94.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

89. Attar Chand, n. 57, p. 209.



the liquidation "of all foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean and in its geographical and political extensions in the Arab Sea and the Arab Gulf, the withdrawal of the region's countries from imperialistic military alliances and the reconciliation of differences between those countries in a peaceful manner"<sup>90</sup>.

The Libyan Head of State, Col. M. Gaddafi told the Algiers Conference on September 6, 1973, that he did not believe any of its "beautiful human intentions" would ever see the light. "But, I agree, on them without reservation, although I am aware that this group will not be able to make any arrangements for collective defence", which, to him, was impossible. He further remarked: "All I hope for is that members of this group should pledge not to attack each other. This way we would stop the fear of war or actual war in almost half the world". Commenting on the decisions for implementation of economic plans of the Non-aligned Movement, Col. Gaddafi said: "This group will also not be able to achieve a joint economic plan ... I accept your resolutions, but I also know in advance that they will not be implemented. What we can do, however, is to pledge that we shall not be tied economically with any of the monopolistic international forces"<sup>91</sup>.

Soon after the Fourth Summit, the United States organised a reactionary coup in Chile in September, 1973, when President Salvador Allende was murdered<sup>92</sup>. The Heads of States concentrated attention "on the struggle to achieve freedom, independence, and progress, to enable all peoples and countries to live in peace and security, to eliminate without delay the existing inequality in international political situation and economic relations"<sup>93</sup>. The European countries at their Helsinki Conference in 1973 included in the 'Declaration of Principles', the following ten items:<sup>94</sup>

90. Ibid., p. 212.

91. Ibid., p. 247.

92. Yakov Etinger, 'With Stick and Carrot: US Machinations against the Non-Aligned Movement', Supplement to New Times (The Non-Aligned Movement: Aims, Principles, Practice), Moscow, 1986, p. 22.

93. Berislav Badurina, n. 86, p. 1.

94. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXVI, No. 612, October 5, 1975, p. 5.



- "(1) sovereign equality, respect of the rights inherent to sovereignty;
- (2) refraining from the threat or use of force;
- (3) the inviolability of frontiers;
- (4) the territorial integrity of states;
- (5) peaceful settlement of disputes;
- (6) non-intervention in internal affairs;
- (7) respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief;
- (8) equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
- (9) cooperation among states;
- (10) fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law".

The Declaration on the Principles of Friendly Relations recognised "the existence of all existing frontiers in Europe and their inviolability" and confirmed "the sovereign rights of states to change their frontiers through agreement"<sup>95</sup>. In clear terms, the Declaration consolidated the existing occupation of racist regimes on foreign lands, which was most challenging to the Non-aligned countries, and to the Movement itself.

To consider the acute problems due to more and more aggression and threats<sup>96</sup> of attack by the racist regimes of South Africa and Israel, the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned countries met at Algiers from March 19-21, 1974. The meeting was attended by seventeen countries and observers from twenty-six nations. The Bureau deplored the US assistance to Portugal, Rhodesia, Pretoria and Saigon; US rejection of the Paris Agreements; creation of Anglo-American base on the Island of Diego Garcia; Zionist aggression, annexation of territory and deprivation of the Arab people of their fundamental rights; aggression in Cambodia and economic blockade in Latin America. The Bureau, moreover, commended the peoples of Syria, Egypt and Palestine and hailed the heroic struggle waged by them against Israel in October, 1973, to liberate their land and restore their integrity and sovereignty<sup>97</sup>. The Arabs decided to impose oil embargo against Israel

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95. Ljubivoje Acimovic, 'European Principles', Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXVI, No. 612, October 5, 1975, p. 7.

96. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXV, No. 576, April 5, 1974, p. 17.

97. Ibid., p. 20.

and her allies and a great number of non-aligned countries broke off diplomatic relations with Israel to counter its aggressive policies. The members requested the Chairman to give final shape and set up a Support and Solidarity Fund to assist freedom struggles to help in decolonization of dependent territories. They supported the right of sovereignty of Panama over the Panama Canal Zone. They demanded "unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories since June, 1967" and "restoration of the Palestine people's national rights, foremost among which is the right to return to its homeland and exercise its right to self-determination"<sup>98</sup>. They condemned Israel's pretext of "secure borders" so as to prolong its occupation, create a fait accompli and return to the state of no war-no peace. The Conference called upon the participants to adopt the following practical measures:<sup>99</sup>

- "(A) Non-Aligned countries which have not as yet severed their diplomatic relations with Israel should do so immediately in implementation of the resolution adopted by the Fourth Summit Conference ...
- (B) Non-aligned countries are requested not only to boycott Israel diplomatically but also economically and culturally and in the field of maritime and air transport".

The Ministerial Conference of the Coordinating Bureau, held in Havana (Republic of Cuba) on March 17-19, 1975, attended by twenty-four observer countries, noted the threats of the colonial powers against countries producing raw materials and "increase of US naval and air forces in the Indian Ocean and off the coast of Indochina"<sup>100</sup>. The participants declared that "any aggression against the non-aligned country will constitute an aggression against all the non-aligned"<sup>101</sup>. The Bureau reiterated its recognition of and military aid to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and supported the demand of the PRG for the cessation of US interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam. The Bureau noted the US support to the puppet regime of Phnom Penh in Cambodia. The Bureau

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98. Ibid.

99. Ibid., p. 20.

100. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 130.

101. Ibid.

hailed the decisive victory of the freedom fighters of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe over the Portuguese colonialism. The Bureau noted with shock the assassinations of Zimbabwe leader of Liberation Movement, Herbert Chitepos, African liberation leaders, Eduardo Mondlane and Amilcar Cabral, who "had been victims of assassination carried out by imperialism and its agents<sup>102</sup>", and physical liquidation of Cabral and Mondlane of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. The Bureau called for total decolonization of Spanish Sahara. It regretted that the Korean problem continued in spite of the efforts of the people to solve it by peaceful means. The Bureau considered the question of Cyprus, Turkish-Cypriots and Cuba, Latin American States - Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia and Puerto Rico and urged for their national independence. The Bureau condemned the US support to Israel and the "Israeli-American manoeuvres to vitiate the resolutions of the UN and the non-aligned countries<sup>103</sup>". The Bureau condemned the Pretoria and Salisbury regimes and "strongly supported the liberation struggle of the African peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe ... speeding up the process of total decolonization in Africa and other parts of the world<sup>104</sup>".

In pursuance of its decisions at Havana, the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned countries, held in the Peruvian capital of Lima from August 25-30, 1975, pointed to the unjust world economic order causing social and economic deprivation of vast masses. They deplored the imperialist policy of preventing steps to solve problems as in the case of the Middle East, Palestine, Cyprus, South Africa, Latin America and Asia, and paid homage to Kampuchea for her liberation on April 17, 1975; to Vietnam on attaining independence and defeating US imperialism; to Laos for its victory against US aggression; to Guinea-Bissau (1974), Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe and Comoros (1975) for their becoming independent. They deplored the imperialists' attempt to frustrate the independence of Angola and Rhodesia and demanded immediate withdrawal of South

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102. Ibid., p. 132.

103. Ibid., p. 140.

104. Berislav Badurina, 'Time of Action', Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXVI, No. 600, April 5, 1975, p. 2.

African troops from these countries. They pledged to assist complete liberation of Zimbabwe. They congratulated the people of Comoro Islands for their struggle for independence. They demanded decolonization of the Sahara, French Somaliland (Djibouti) and Seychelles Island and demanded their immediate and unconditional independence. They welcomed the overthrow of colonialist dictatorial regime in Portugal. They demanded elimination of US military bases and colonial domination over Panama, Puerto Rico, Belize and Malvinas Islands. The Foreign Ministers decided to create a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and a Solidarity Fund for economic and social development and reconstruction of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

Milos Minic, speaking in the General Debate of the Conference on August 26, 1975, suggested the following course of action to be given priority<sup>105</sup>:

"struggle for freedom, independence and equality of all States and peoples, against interference, pressures, threats of force and aggression, for peace and security in the world.

"struggle for a new international economic order, 'founded on equality and respect for the legitimate interests of all countries and aimed at resolving international economic problems, primarily the problem of development of developing countries'".

Milos Minic also supported the demand of "the sovereignty of Panama over the Panama Canal and the sovereignty of Cuba over the Guantanamo base"<sup>106</sup>; and to condemn the "terror unleashed by the Chilean fascist regime", which violated the fundamental human rights in Chile.<sup>107</sup> The Conference reiterated its earlier decisions regarding the union of South Vietnam and North Vietnam, Indian Ocean, South Pacific, detente and disarmament.

The Coordinating Bureau at its meeting held in Algiers from May 30 - June 20, 1970, attended by seventeen countries, and by twenty-nine observer countries, reiterated the earlier resolutions of the

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105. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXVI, No. 611, September 20, 1975, p. 19.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

NAM conferences regarding decolonization of subject territories, establishment of a New International Economic Order and so on. It reaffirmed the right of the Sahraoui people and Puerto Rico and Belize to self-determination and condemned the French move to disrupt the unity of the Comoros by detaching Mayotte Island from it.

King Birendra of Nepal, in an interview to Tanjung in Kathmandu on July 5, 1976, said that the Non-aligned Movement must play an effective role in the creation of a new international economic order. He, however, cautioned that efforts towards this end would "remain only half-hearted and superficial" unless the developing countries cooperated among themselves.<sup>108</sup> He added: "The developing countries are rich in raw materials and manpower but because they lack the know-how and resources to convert their potentialities into actual wealth they have been subjected to unfair deal and unjust exploitation. This has to be ended. The Non-aligned Movement must play an effective role in this cause".<sup>109</sup> Referring to the decisions of the Lima Conference to establish a 'Technological Transfer Centre' and a Solidarity Fund for economic and social development of the Non-aligned countries, he said that these measures were "small but important steps in the right direction".<sup>110</sup> Commending the role of the NAM, he observed: "It was also the credit of the non-aligned movement that international politics today reflected in a more realistic way the hopes and aspirations of the majority rather than the wishes of the stronger few".<sup>111</sup>

Talking to Yugoslav journalists in New Delhi on July 28, 1975, Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi, stated that the Non-aligned were from various continents - Africa, Latin America, the Caribbeans and the Arab World, and added: "There is an increasing tendency towards regional grouping for evolving a common approach to problems. This should be welcomed, but care should be taken to ensure that this again does not split up the unity of the Nonaligned".<sup>112</sup> She further said

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108. Attar Chand, n. 57, p. 257.

109. Ibid., pp. 257-58.

110. Ibid., p. 258.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid., p. 197.

the greater the contacts and cooperation, the better it is for all. She cautioned that a "great deal of statesmanship is required to see that groupings are not anti-this or that. The Non-aligned Movement has always been particular to emphasise that we are not against this or that bloc. We are the first to say that such hostile grouping was a fundamental error, which should make way for peaceful co-existence"<sup>113</sup>. She suggested that the NAM countries should keep up this spirit. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on July 8, 1976, remarked that "there is a tendency to divide the world into different categories and the expression "Third World" is used rather indiscriminately and applied to nonaligned and developing countries". She said that she personally stood firmly by the concept of 'One World'. She observed: "Most non-aligned countries are also developing ones. Economically under-developed countries which had aligned themselves with one or other power bloc have subscribed to a political outlook, obviously different in a crucial respect from ours, even if economic problems and tasks were common ... Let us co-operate with all countries, except avowedly racist regimes, but let us guard our identity"<sup>114</sup>.

#### Fifth Summit (Colombo), August, 1976

The Fifth Summit of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo (Sri Lanka) from August 16-19, 1976, was attended by eighty-six countries, observers from twenty-two countries and four guests<sup>115</sup>. The items of agenda, among others, included assessment of international political situation and role of non-alignment, review of international economic situation and development problems, strategy for the strengthening of peace and international security and measures with a view to countering more effectively threats, pressures, aggressions etc. and strengthening of non-alignment and joint action of the NAM countries in international relations<sup>116</sup>.

The Conference mainly stressed intensification of struggle for political and economic independence and noted that the Movement had

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113. Ibid.

114. Ibid., p. 193.

115. See Appendix V; see also The Non-Aligned Countries, n. 51, p. 14.

116. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 245.

"proved to be one of the most dynamic factors in promoting the genuine independence<sup>117</sup>", in the colonial countries, discussed in earlier meetings of the Coordinating Bureau. The Conference characterised the Movement as a "vital force in the struggle against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations, and all other forms of foreign domination"<sup>118</sup>. The participants opined that world conflict was not inevitable. They regretted that the non-aligned countries had been subjected to pressures, threats and were being vilified and intimidated so as "to deter them from pursuing a united and independent role in international relations"<sup>119</sup>. They observed that the imperialists had created divisions in the liberation movements "with the evil intention of establishing spurious independence in Namibia, Zimbabwe and in some parts of South Africa through Bantustans"<sup>120</sup>. They reiterated that the Movement had been more effective against colonialism and the colonialists' faces could be seen under the guise of neo-colonialism and hegemonic relations.

The Conference discussed in detail the freedom struggle in South Africa, programme for struggle and elimination of racism and racial discrimination, situation in the Middle East, Palestine, Cyprus, Kampuchea, Laos, Vietnam, Korea, Latin America, Indian Ocean, Disarmament and security, internal affairs of states, the Economic Declaration and economic cooperation. The Conference passed resolutions on Support and Solidarity Fund for the liberation of Southern Africa, Namibia; non-recognition of South African Bantustans, apartheid in sports; Comoriel Island of Mayotte, Middle East, Palestine, Indian Ocean, the use of veto in the United Nations, establishment of a Bank of the Developing Countries, New International Monetary Order; economic relations, cooperation among developing countries; food and agricultural production, commodities etc.

The Conference extended the mandate of the existing Coordinating Bureau and their respective spheres of activities and elected the

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117. Ibid., p. 189.

118. Ibid., p. 190.

119. Ibid., p. 191.

120. Ibid., p. 193.

following twenty-five<sup>121</sup> members:

- (1) Algeria; (2) Angola; (3) Bangladesh/Afghanistan\*
- (4) Botswana; (5) Chad; (6) Cuba; (7) Guinea; (8) Guyana;
- (9) India; (10) Indonesia; (11) Iraq; (12) Jamaica;
- (13) Liberia; (14) Niger; (15) Nigeria; (16) Peru; (17) PLO;
- (18) Sri Lanka; (19) Sudan; (20) Syria; (21) Tanzania;
- (22) Vietnam; (23) Yugoslavia; (24) Zaire and (25) Zambia.

\*It was agreed that Bangladesh would occupy the seat for the first half and Afghanistan for the second half of the three-year term of office.

Following the Fifth Summit, the Ministers of the member nations of the Coordinating Bureau met in New Delhi from April 7-11, 1977. The meeting was attended by the twenty-five members and observers from twenty-seven countries and the African National Congress (South Africa). Morarji Desai, Prime Minister of India, at the inaugural session, said that Non-aligned Movement had grown despite discouragement from certain quarters and at the present time it could claim the majority support of the world states<sup>122</sup>. The Bureau noted: "growth of cooperation in the field of information and mass media contributed to the process of achieving independent, accurate and objective dissemination of news and views of the non-aligned countries"<sup>123</sup>. The Bureau also opined that imperialism obstructed the right to self-determination in Africa, increased recourse to interference, intervention and political assassinations and caused conflicts between friendly neighbouring countries. The Bureau saluted the liberation movements and freedom fighters for their courage and determination facing the brutal violence and terrorism committed by the minority regimes in Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and called for increased assistance to the liberation movements. The Bureau discussed, inter alia, the issues considered by the previous meetings.

The Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned Countries assembled in an extraordinary meeting in New York on September 30, 1977, and condemned the Israeli occupation of Palestine and other Arab territories, West Bank and Gaza and attempts to change the "geographic, demographic,

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121. Ibid., pp. 222-23.

122. Ibid., p. 249.

123. Ibid., p. 250.



economic, cultural or historical characteristics of the occupied territories<sup>124</sup>". They demanded withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since June 5, 1967, including the City of Jerusalem. They also called upon all the UN members "to halt emigration of their citizens to Israel"<sup>125</sup>. They stressed that "all efforts should be made to support effectively the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples"<sup>126</sup> of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, held in the City of Havana (Cuba) from May 15-20, 1978, was attended by all the twenty-five members. There were observers from eighteen countries. The Bureau denounced the "interventions, the overt and covert pressures exerted by imperialism in all its forms against the member countries of the Movement"<sup>127</sup>. They reiterated their previous observations and demands, regarding territorial independence, peace in Indian Ocean, economic matters and utilization of nuclear energy.

The Ministerial Conference of the Non-aligned Countries was held in Belgrade (Yugoslavia) from July 25-30, 1978, and was attended by Foreign Ministers of eighty-five countries, observers from twenty countries and ten countries as guests. They expressed solidarity with the national liberation movements which aimed at ending colonialism and neo-colonialism, which were designed to complete the process of independence. They noted that the Conference was represented by two-thirds of the world population<sup>128</sup>. As the imperialists continued to establish "inequitable relations, to undermine the unity of the non-aligned countries, restrict and diffuse their action, to alter the character of the policy of non-alignment as a whole and to weaken the Movement's role in the international arena in general", they decided "to counter any attempt (of imperialists) from inside or outside to weaken or deflect the Movement from its fundamental principles"<sup>129</sup>. They

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124. Ibid., p. 267.

125. Ibid., p. 268.

126. Ibid., p. 269.

127. Ibid., p. 272.

128. Ibid., p. 297.

129. Ibid.

concluded that this attitude of the imperialists was due to worsening of relations between the Big Powers, who were making continual attempts to force the non-aligned countries to fall in line, but the latter sensing the gravity of the situation, kept themselves non-aligned. As a result, the imperialists imposed neo-colonialism and intensified their repressive acts. The participants deplored the presence of Western military bases in colonies, crushing the freedom struggle. The Conference reiterated the earlier decisions taken by the non-aligned conferences and meetings. The most important was the oration of Marshal Tito, the President of the SFR of Yugoslavia, who asserted that the Movement was "the only possible alternative to bloc confrontation, tensions and the dangers of a new military conflagration"<sup>130</sup>. He was sure that the Movement "will strengthen confidence and belief in the future among all people who are clearing the road to their independence, their national and economic emancipation, and to peace and stability in the world"<sup>131</sup>. He was grieved to say that the meeting witnessed "disagreements and heard some harsh words"<sup>132</sup> due to imperialists' influence, but hoped that the meeting would be crowned with success.

At the extraordinary ministerial meeting, held at the UN Headquarters on October 2, 1978, the Foreign Ministers reiterated the statements of the earlier NAM Conferences and Coordinating Bureau relating to dependent territories. They expressed concern over the massive use of force by Nicaragua disturbing the peace and stability of the area, and decided to admit SWAPO as a full-fledged member of the Movement.

On the eve of Republic Day, 1979, in an interview with New Wave, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said: "We are not tilting towards anybody at all. That was real non-alignment. In the beginning even the Soviet Union was apprehensive because they also thought that we might be anti-them. But when they realised what the real thing was, they accepted it as a fact of life that for a developing country it was essential that it should not get embroiled in the quarrels of the big powers"<sup>133</sup>.

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130. Ibid., p. 343.

131. Ibid., p. 344.

132. Ibid., p. 346.

133. Attar Chand, n. 57, pp. 198-99.

An extraordinary meeting of the Coordinating Bureau was held in Maputo (Mozambique) from January 26 - February 2, 1979. It was attended by Foreign Ministers of twenty-three countries (Indonesia, and Syria were not represented), observers from twenty-five countries and nine national liberation movements. The President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, H.E. Samora Moises Machel, affirmed that the success of the Movement was due to its unity, based on its common principles and objectives. He recognised the Patriotic Front as the sole representative of the people of Zimbabwe, emphasised increasing support to SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, and wished success to the ANC against the Pretoria regime in South Africa. The meeting pledged to accelerate the process of decolonization throughout the world and noted that the Movement had "inaugurated the era of decolonization"<sup>134</sup>. The Bureau condemned "all acts of armed aggression, expansionism and destabilization against Tanzania, Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique"<sup>135</sup>, the front-line states.

A Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, held in Colombo (Sri Lanka) from June 4-9, 1979, was attended by twenty-three Foreign Ministers (Guinea and Chad did not attend). It was attended by fifty countries. The Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and the African National Congress attended as observers, and nineteen countries and organisations attended as guests. H.E. J.R. Jayewardene, President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, viewed the NAM policy in a historical perspective and through a philosophical prism. Jayewardene stated that though non-alignment ran like a golden thread through "the fabric of our country's foreign policy ... changes may take place in quality, colour and shape of that fabric from time to time". He advocated the policy of "friendship with all alliances with none"<sup>136</sup>.

The Bureau recommended the applications of Bolivia, Grenada, Iran, Pakistan and Surinam for full membership of the Movement and

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134. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, pp.360-61.

135. Ibid., p. 366.

136. Attar Chand, n. 57, p. 273.

welcomed the desire of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to cooperate with the Movement. The Bureau also welcomed the dismantling of CENTO and SEATO, and reaffirmed the Movement's achievement regarding decolonization in non-self-governing territories throughout the world and helping the developing countries in gaining sovereignty over their natural resources. The Bureau reiterated the decisions taken at the earlier meetings and conferences in respect of colonial territories and other problems.

Sixth Summit (Havana), September, 1979

The sixth conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held in Havana (Republic of Cuba) from September 3-9, 1979, was attended by ninety-five countries, observers from twenty countries and guests from nineteen countries.<sup>137</sup>

Addressing the Conference, President Josip Broz Tito on September 4, 1979, said that the policy of non-alignment objectively "destroys the foundations upon which the existing unjust international relations rest and creates conditions for building a world of justice, equality and overall progress". He emphatically stated that "without the policy of non-alignment the world would present quite a different image, and worse might have come to worst. As a matter of fact, the trend towards total bloc division and further fanning of the cold war would unavoidably have brought us to the brink of catastrophe".<sup>138</sup>

The Conference resolved "to eliminate the inequalities between the developed and developing countries; to eradicate poverty, hunger, sickness and illiteracy; and to establish a new world order based on justice, equality and peace". The Summit emphasised the need of ending domination, dependency and exploitation and pledged to continue their struggle until they succeed in establishing a just world political and economic order and also urged the peoples to participate in its efforts to free the world from "war, the policy of force, blocs and bloc politics, military bases, pacts and interlocking alliances, the policy of domination and hegemony, inequalities and

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137. See Appendix VI; see also The Non-Aligned Countries, n.51, p.15.

138. Attar Chand, n. 57, p. 297.

oppression, injustice and poverty<sup>139</sup>". They reiterated the earlier goals and objectives of the Movement regarding support to national independence, struggle against imperialism, ending of arms race and dismantling of foreign military bases<sup>140</sup>.

The Summit discussed the imperialist's pressures to "hold back the process of decolonization and to disregard the principles of self-determination of peoples under alien and colonial domination in various regions"<sup>141</sup>. It commended the African peoples fighting for independence and armed struggle by the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and laid down ten measures to be taken against the racist regimes, and urged the United Nations to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. The Conference deplored the brutal racist oppression by South Africa supported by the United States, Britain, France, the FRG, Japan, Belgium, Italy, Canada, Australia and Israel. They rejected the South African programme of "Bantustanization"<sup>142</sup> and its attempts to divide the United Front of black patriots, and intensifying their repression, murders and genocide. The Conference also condemned the aggression of South Africa against Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zambia for their support for the freedom struggle, and called on all states to increase their aid to these countries. The Conference reiterated its stand with regard to Western Sahara, Island of Mayotte, Israel, Palestine, South East Asia, Korea, East Timor, Latin America, Grenada, Nicaragua, Cyprus, Indian Ocean, disarmament, Iranian suspension of oil shipment to Israel and South Africa and withdrawal of Iran and Pakistan from CENTO. The Conference condemned Israel's raid on Southern Lebanon killing thousands of innocent people and US threats to use force against the oil producing Arab countries.

The Summit called upon the nuclear-weapon states to give undertakings: "a) to respect strictly the status of the nuclear

139. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 402.

140. See for further details, Ibid., p. 403.

141. Ibid., p. 405.

142. Ibid., p. 410.

weapon-free zone and (b) to refrain from the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against the States of the <sup>143</sup>zone", and welcomed the signing of an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons, though it fell short of the expectations of the international community.

The Conference decided to increase the membership of the Coordinating Bureau from twenty-five to thirty-~~five~~<sup>144</sup>, comprising representatives of the following countries:

(1) Cuba, (2) Afghanistan/Bangladesh, (3) Benin, (4) Korea, (5) Cyprus, (6) Ethiopia, (7) Guyana, (8) Ghana, (9) Iraq, (10) Iran/Bhutan, (11) India, (12) Jamaica, (13) Jordan, (14) Lesotho, (15) Madagascar (16) Mauritania, (17) Mozambique, (18) Nigeria, (19) Palestine Liberation Organization (20) Panama, (21) Peru/Grenada, (22) Syria, (23) Singapore/Indonesia, (24) Somalia, (25) Sri Lanka, (26) Togo (27) Uganda/Vietnam/Laos, (28) Democratic Yemen (29) Yugoslavia and (30) Zambia.

The countries, which were to occupy the remaining five seats were not chosen. However, the distribution of seats was as follows:

Africa	-	17 seats
Asia	-	12 seats
Latin America	-	5 seats
Europe	-	1 seat
Total		<u>35 seats</u>

The Foreign Ministers and Heads of Delegations met at the UN Headquarters on October 4-6, 1979, and expressed sorrow at the passing away of President Antonio Agostinho Neto of Angola, and on October 2-3, 1980, they expressed profound grief at the deaths of Presidents Josip Broz Tito (Yugoslavia), Sir Seretse Khama (Botswana) and Ton Duc Thang (Vietnam), who followed the principles and objectives of the Movement in view of emergence of new hotbeds of tension.

H.M. King Hassan II of Morocco, giving an exclusive Press Conference to the Arab Press at Skhirat (Morocco) on April 28, 1980, said that while still believing in non-alignment, he was against

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143. Ibid., p. 425.

144. Ibid., p. 433.

the way it was being applied. He added that "nonalignment should be based on internal political elements of each country and their consequences, and should make a distinction between attitudes of structural nature and of a conjunctural character". The King said: "If the Nonaligned Movement had not gone contradictory to its original spirit, as in the times of such giants as Nehru, Tito and Abdel Nasser, it would have now been able to fill the gap between Russia and the United States over great problems such as the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan"<sup>145</sup>.

A joint Yugoslav-Ghanian Communique, issued on December 12, 1980, as a result of talks between Fadilj Hodza and Hill Leeman "stressed determination constantly to contribute to strengthening the role of the nonaligned movement as an independent, global and extra bloc factor in resolving international political and economic problems and preserving peace in the world". The Communique, voicing concern over armed conflicts, especially among the non-aligned countries, stressed that "the nonaligned countries must settle their mutual disputes peaceably, by political means, in conformity with the UN Charter and the principles of nonalignment"<sup>146</sup>. It also stressed that measures must be taken in order to create conditions conducive to peaceful solution of Iran-Iraq War and West Sahara on the principles of the UN Charter, the policy of non-alignment, international law and justice.

The Foreign Ministers Conference held on February 9-13, 1981, in New Delhi, was attended by ninety-four countries as members, fifteen countries as observers, and twenty-two countries and organizations as guests. H.E. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, delivered an inspiring keynote address. The Republic of Zimbabwe participated for the first time as a fully independent nation. The Session decided to proclaim September 1, the Day of the Non-Aligned and recommended its annual observance. Reiterating the recommendations of the Sixth Summit, the Conference condemned the Camp David Agreements.

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145. Attar Chand, n. 57, p. 254.

146. Ibid., p. 179.

They urged the withdrawal of foreign troops<sup>147</sup> and Afghanistan and reaffirmed the right of Afghan refugees to return to their homes with honour. They warned that there was a dangerous situation in South-East Asia and that the unfortunate Iraq-Iran war had damaged the cause of the Movement. They supported the independence of Cyprus, Puerto Rico and Belize, advocated independence and status of neutrality of Malta.

Delivering the Inaugural Address at the Conference on February 9, 1981, Mrs. Indira Gandhi said:<sup>148</sup>

"At every meeting of the nonaligned, big powers seem to redouble their diplomatic and publicity campaign to sow suspicion and division within us. As free peoples we must stand together. Working in unison on the basis of our original principles and purposes will fortify us to withstand pressures. Divided we are vulnerable, united we can and shall prevail".

An Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau was held at Algiers (Algeria) on April 16-18, 1981, which was attended by thirty-four members, including Burundi, Cameroon, Congo and Zaire. Forty-four members of the NAM countries also took part; seven organizations and ten special invitees also attended. H.E. Mr. Mohammed Benyahia, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria delivered an important address. The Ministers adopted a "Declaration and Programme of Action"<sup>149</sup> and reiterated the previous recommendations and condemnations.

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries met at the UN Headquarters from September 25-28, 1981, and reviewed the deteriorating international peace and security and increasing danger of Third World War, as considered earlier. The participants, who were the representatives of the Non-aligned countries to the United Nations, called for "the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, for the securing Prisoner-of-War status to all captured freedom fighters, and for the

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147. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 507.

148. Attar Chand, n. 57, p. 201.

149. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 537.



comprehensive and mandatory sanctions<sup>150</sup> against South Africa. They condemned Israeli "measures aiming at the Judaization of the Holy City of Jerusalem" and "deep diggings and excavations beneath the Al-aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock within the Haram al-Shareef, holy sanctuary in Jerusalem, which threaten the collapse of these millenia old structures"<sup>151</sup>. They also denounced the digging of a canal joining the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea and condemned the imposition of Israeli nationality on Syrian citizens under Israeli occupation in the Golan Heights; barbaric attacks by Israel on Southern Lebanon and Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations. Further, the meeting deplored the concentration of weapons in Europe and other parts of the world; aggression of the United States against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on August 19, 1981.

An Extraordinary Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau took place in Kuwait from April 5-8, 1982, to consider measures to assist the struggle of Palestinian people under the leadership of PLO. It was attended by thirty-four members, thirty-six countries as non-members, six observers, and seven organisations and countries as guests. At the inaugural session, H.E. Sheikh Sabah Al Ahmed Al Jaber Al Sabah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information of Kuwait, H.E. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, H.E. Ismat Ali Kittani, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and H.E. Isidoro Malmierca, Minister of External Relations of Cuba and Chairman of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries delivered their speeches. The Ministers adopted a Communique and Programme of Action having the following items<sup>152</sup>:

- "(a) Complete, total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all the Palestinian and other occupied Arab Territories, including Jerusalem ...
- (b) The free exercise of the right of the Palestinian to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, and to those who choose not to return the payment of equitable compensation;
- (c) The attainment and free exercise of the inalienable rights in Palestine of the Palestinian people including:-

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150. Ibid., p. 543.

151. Ibid., p. 544.

152. Ibid., p. 552.

- (i) The right to self-determination without external interference, and to national independence and sovereignty;
- (ii) The right to establish its own independent sovereign State".

The Deputy Foreign Minister of Vietnam, Vo Dong Giang, on May 25, 1982, in an interview to Vietnam News Agency, proposed two principles to peacefully solve the disputes between the Non-aligned countries: (1) settlement of disputes by themselves "without outside interference and on the basis of equality and mutual respect without imposition of one party's will on the other", and (2) the movement should help the parties to enter into peaceful negotiations and should not support one group of countries to oppose another group of countries". He asserted that the "disputes between the Nonaligned countries should not be allowed to divide the movement and to weaken the common struggle for peace and national independence"<sup>153</sup>.

On June 3, P.V. Narasimha Rao, India's Minister of External Affairs, discussing the problems of 'Cold War', international economic situation, programmes of economic cooperation of the Movement with those of the Group of 77 and collective self-reliance, called for an end to the climate of confrontation and strife. He said:<sup>154</sup> "Confrontation - whether political or economic - eats into the vitals of nations, whether they are big or small, rich or poor, and in the ultimate analysis it eats into the vitals of mankind". The Minister further added that it was for the Non-aligned Movement "to show the world the way out of this predicament, to impress upon the world that the only way to exist is to coexist. Let us resolve to go to the Seventh Summit with fresh zeal and sense of purpose"<sup>155</sup>.

The Coordinating Bureau met at Havana from May 31 - June 5, 1982, and was attended by Foreign Ministers of thirty-four countries, forty-eight members of the Movement, eighteen countries and organizations as observers, and sixteen countries and organizations as guests. Reviewing the international situation since 1979, they reiterated the

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153. Attar Chand, n. 57, p. 291.

154. Ibid., p. 203.

155. Ibid.

earlier resolutions. They condemned, among others, South African regime for carrying out undeclared war against Angola; concentration of South African troops along the borders of Mozambique; kidnapping of citizens of Lesotho, Swaziland, Madagascar and Seychelles, acts of South African military aggression, economic pressures, political manoeuvres through treacherous armed bandits and puppets against Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe; and cynical use of mercenaries in the fight against liberation movements, and so on. They advocated that the Malagasy Islands - Glorissas Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas de India be restored to Madagascar; and asserted that Mayotte, under French occupation, was an integral part of Comoros.

An Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau was held in Nicosia (Cyprus) on July 15-17, 1982. It was attended by thirty-two nations - twenty-seven members of the Movement, three observers and four guests in order to discuss the grave situation in Lebanon caused by the Israeli aggression against it and the Palestinian people. They condemned Israeli "policy aimed at expanding its territory at the expense of its Arab neighbours and at exterminating the Palestinian people"<sup>156</sup>, massive US military, financial and political support to Israel; Israel's continuous measures on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and dismissal of the elected Mayors and Municipal Councils. They strongly condemned Israel's "indiscriminate shelling of civilian areas as well as the use of cluster and phosphorous bombs and toxic gases and reaffirmed Israel's international responsibility to pay compensation and reparations for the loss of life and property"<sup>157</sup>. They established a 8-member Ministerial Committee under the Chairmanship of Fidel Castro to consider various problems and suggest their solutions.

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations met at the UN Headquarters on October 4-9, 1982. They reiterated the earlier observations and decisions of earlier conferences and meetings.

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156. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 50, p. 590.

157. Ibid., p. 592.

Professor Soedjatmoko, Rector, United National University, Tokyo, in New Delhi, on November 13, 1982, acknowledging the role played by the non-aligned nations in achieving decolonisation of many African countries over the last two decades regretted that "they had become a battleground for big power rivalry ... that more than half the wars fought since 1945 had taken place in the third world". He further blamed the Third World nations for playing off one big power against the other.<sup>158</sup>

Seventh Summit (New Delhi), March, 1983

The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held in New Delhi (India) on March 7-12, 1983, under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The Conference was attended by ninety-nine countries, nine countries as observers and ten countries as guests.<sup>159</sup> The participants worked out programme for complete disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. "The intolerable inequality and exploitation established by colonialism and imperialism" were said to be the most important causes of tension, conflict and violence in the world. "The danger of war", Fidel Castro observed, "threatens us as citizens of the world, but it also affects us as nations that aspire to reaffirm or win, whatever the case may be, our national independence and develop our weak economies".<sup>160</sup> Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Chairman and Coordinator said: "If we do not have peace today, we shall have no life tomorrow ... The destructive power contained in nuclear stockpiles can kill human life, indeed all life, many times over".<sup>161</sup> The Summit asked the great powers, among others, to immediately halt the "drift towards nuclear conflict" and "to adopt urgent and practical measures for the prevention of nuclear war".<sup>162</sup>

The Conference reiterated earlier decisions regarding the rights of the Namibian people for independence and expressed deep

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158. Attar Chand, n. 57, p. 228.

159. See Appendix VII.

160. Yakov Etinger, n. 92, pp. 29 and 20.

161. Artemy Sergiyev, 'Peace: The Supreme Goal', Supplement to New Times (Moscow), 1986, p. 8, (n. 92).

162. Ibid.

concern that the Western Contact Group was unable to detach and dissociate itself from the extraneous issue of linkage between Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

The Conference also condemned the racist regime of South Africa for acts of aggression and policy of apartheid, imposition of death sentences on six freedom fighters, the bogus constitutional reforms and the formation of the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO), including South Africa. It hailed the creation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to liberate the Southern Africa. It denounced the South African moves for destabilization of the Kingdom of Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Seychelles. The Conference reiterated the earlier resolutions of Sixth Summit regarding Western Sahara, Mayotte, Malagasy Islands, Indian Ocean, Chagos and Diego Garcia, Palestine, Lebanon, Middle East, South-East Asia, South-West Asia, Korea, Iran-Iraq Conflict, Europe, Mediterranean, Cyprus and Latin American and Caribbean issues.

On October 4-7, 1983, Foreign Ministers and Heads of Delegations of the Non-aligned countries to the 38th session of the UN General Assembly met at New York and reviewed the situation in territories discussed at the Seventh Summit.

In May, 1984, leaders of six countries - Argentina, India, Tanzania (members of the NAM), Mexico, Greece and Sweden, jointly called on the nuclear powers to freeze their nuclear missile arsenals. The Soviet Union responded positively, but the United States was obsessed with its desire and aims to achieve nuclear missile superiority over the Soviet Union and so refused to take any steps even to slow down the arms race. Pakistan, taking side of the United States, was busy manufacturing atomic as well as hydrogen bomb. Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, the Pakistani nuclear physicist, said: "Pakistan's nuclear programme was for peaceful purposes<sup>163</sup>". After the assassination of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi on October 31, 1984, her son, Rajiv Gandhi, took up the reins of the Non-aligned Movement with great enthusiasm. Referring to the world's nuclear

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163. The Times of India (New Delhi), May 24, 1984.

arsenals, Rajiv Gandhi said: "Military spending is today 25 times higher than development expenditure. More than a million dollars are spent on defence every minute while millions of human beings have to do without even the most basic amenities<sup>164</sup>".

The Ministers and Heads of Delegations to the Non-aligned countries to the 39th session of the UN General Assembly met in New York from October 1-5, 1984, and took note of the report of the Chairman on the activities of the Movement of Non-aligned Countries since the New York October, 1983 meeting. They urged that efforts to implement the decisions of the Movement be continued.

An Extraordinary Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned countries on the question of Namibia was held in New Delhi on April 19-21, 1985. The Prime Minister of India and Chairman of the Non-aligned Movement, Rajiv Gandhi, suggested and the meeting decided to transmit an urgent message to the President of the UN Security Council on the matter of installation of an "interim government in Namibia" in view of South Africa's announcement of April 18, 1985. The SWAPO President, Sam Nujoma, described the latest situation in and around Namibia. They condemned the fraudulent "elections" held in 1984, under the guise of constitutional reforms. They hoped that "the struggle waged on all fronts by SWAPO and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), its military wing, will find culmination before long in final victory<sup>165</sup>". The Ministers adopted a "Declaration and Programme of Action", which, among others already proclaimed, included the expression of their indignation at the "new military offensive launched by South Africa on a massive scale in northern Namibia, under the code name 'Operation Iron Fist'<sup>166</sup>", and the creation of "tribal armies" by South Africa. The Programme of Action adopted included severance of diplomatic relations; observance of an oil embargo; withholding of overflight and landing facilities

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164. Ibid., March 18, 1985.

165. Twentyfive Years of Non-Aligned Movement: Documents of the Gatherings of the Nonaligned Countries, 1983-1986 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1986), Vol.II, p. 129.

166. Ibid., p. 131.

to aircraft and docking rights to ocean vessels; prohibition of coins minted in South Africa; cultural and sports boycott of South Africa and ratification and implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.<sup>167</sup>

Rajiv Gandhi in his address on April 19, 1985, quoted Jawaharlal Nehru who said: "There is nothing more terrible than the infinite tragedy of Africa in the past few hundred years"<sup>168</sup>. He said: "This tragedy continues ... The drought and famine, the suffering and death that afflict large parts of Africa today are not the result of the unkindness of weather alone or of the incapacity of Governments, but the continuing consequence of the structural imbalance imposed by colonialism."<sup>169</sup>

An Anniversary Conference of the Movement was held on April 24-25, 1985, at Bandung (Indonesia). It was attended by two hundred fifty representatives of eighty-one NAM nations. The Indonesian President, Suharto, opened the conference. Owing to his tight schedule, Rajiv Gandhi could not chair it or give his keynote address.<sup>170</sup> Many problems, awaiting solution for the last thirty years, were discussed. Representatives of Britain's Gold Coast colony were there on behalf of a soon-to-be renamed and independent Ghana. Archbishop Makarios, later Prime Minister of Cyprus, attended as an observer. Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco also sent observers. South and North Korea also attended. Prince Norodom Sihanouk (Cambodia) did not attend as his presence could cause a boycott by Vietnam and India.<sup>171</sup> Invitation to Burma's U Nu was withdrawn as his presence could be awkward for the ruling Ne Win government.<sup>172</sup>

The Conference issued a wide-ranging 11-page declaration calling for a revised world economic order. The Indian representative, Khursheed Alam Khan, stressed that Asia and Africa and non-aligned

167. Ibid., p. 133.

168. Ibid., p. 161.

169. Ibid.

170. The Times of India (New Delhi), April 7, 1985.

171. Ibid., April 23, 1985.

172. Ibid.

world should resist the revival of colonialism in any form and said it was time to call for a halt "to brokerage of power through military pressures or economic temptation"<sup>173</sup>. The Conference described the world as "beset by pervasive tensions, violence and growing insecurity"<sup>174</sup>. The Conference reiterated the previous resolutions of NAM meets.

Later, Rajiv Gandhi said: "We have taken a world democratic set-up where each country can speak independently without having to align with a major power"<sup>175</sup>. He said: "We would like the Soviet troops to move out of Afghanistan but they are there in concurrence with the Afghan Government"<sup>176</sup>. He observed: "I do not see the Afghan Government asking the Soviets to go until the pressure of the Mujahideens of Pakistan stops"<sup>177</sup>.

The meeting of the Coordinating Bureau held in August, 1985, condemned the statement of President Botha of South Africa as a "thinly veiled design" to further consolidate the abhorrent system of apartheid. The Bureau renewed its earlier demands.

The Foreign Ministers Conference of Non-Aligned countries was held in Luanda (Angola) on September 4-8, 1985, under the Chairmanship of President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola who made a "70-minute speech concerning Angolan situation and all the issues concerning the Movement"<sup>178</sup>. The Conference focused its attention to the problems of decolonization and the struggle against imperialism neo-colonialism. Considering the Iraq-Iran war, it announced that "there was no consensus on Iran and Iraq"<sup>179</sup>. It resolved that "under present circumstances the financial obligations undertaken by developing countries with creditor developed countries and multilateral financial institutions had become unbearable"<sup>180</sup>.

173. Ibid., April 26, 1985.

174. Indian Express (New Delhi), April 26, 1985.

175. Ibid., June 5, 1985.

176. Ibid.

177. Ibid.

178. The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), September 5, 1985.

179. The Times of India (New Delhi), September 9, 1985.

180. Ibid.



The Ministerial meeting of the Non-aligned Movement, held in the night of October 1, 1985, issued a special communique expressing "indignation and grave concern"<sup>181</sup> over the Israeli attack on Tunisia and South African raid on Angola and condemned their "serious acts of aggression". The Ministers "strongly condemned Israel for its barbaric cold-blooded and totally unjustified" attack on its Tunisia based centre of the PLO.

Earlier in the day, on October 1, Bali Ram Bhagat (India) had convened the NAM delegates and condemning Israel's "aggressive and expansionist" policies, called it a "threat to peace and security" and pledged the Movement's continued support for the "brave, homeless and harassed Palestinian people"<sup>182</sup>.

An urgent meeting of the Coordinating Bureau was held on February 6, 1986, at New Delhi. It expressed grave concern over American "threats and measures" against Libya and cautioned against "any precipitate steps by the United States"<sup>183</sup>. Rajar Azzarbuk, Libyan Charge d'Affairs asked the Bureau "to stand up to American measures that contravene all international laws and norms". The meeting condemned Israel for piracy of a civilian Libyan plane and called for effective steps to prevent it from repeating such "illegal and provocative acts"<sup>184</sup>.

The Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau, held on April 16-19, 1986, in New Delhi (India), was attended by Foreign Ministers of seventy-one member countries, twenty-one other countries, observers from twelve countries and guests from 12 countries and organizations. It was chaired by the Indian Premier, Rajiv Gandhi. The Ministers considered the implementation of the decisions taken under the Action Programme for Economic Cooperation (APEC), adopted at the Seventh Summit. They observed that the "security and independence of non-aligned countries were being increasingly threatened by colonialist policies, by great power and bloc rivalries, by imperialist

181. Ibid., October 3, 1985.

182. Ibid.

183. Ibid., February 8, 1986.

184. Ibid.

policies" of domination and by the quest for spheres of influence, as well as by the persisting unjust international economic relations, all of which had led "to military, political and economic pressures and foreign interventions against nonaligned countries"<sup>185</sup>. They expressed "the need of the world for peace, freedom, independence, equality, development and prosperity for all"<sup>186</sup>. They urged the nuclear countries to adhere to the Outer Space Treaty and the Soviet Union-United States Treaty on Antiballistic Missiles. Recalling NAM's declaration that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought", they expressed the hope that the two Big Powers would "agree to sign a convention for swearing the use of nuclear weapons"<sup>187</sup>. They deplored the pressures and threats of the Western Powers to disturb the programmes of the developing countries for development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

Reiterating the situation in various territories, they renewed their affirmation and demands. Among others, they condemned the supply of Stringer missiles to the UNITA armed bandits which committed terrorist acts against the Angolan people; welcomed the creation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and convening of an International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia in Vienna on July 7-11, 1986, and an International Conference on Non-Governmental Organizations in Brussels on May 5-7, 1986. They rejected the "manoeuvres aimed at diverting attention from the central issue of the decolonization of Namibia and introducing East-West confrontation"<sup>188</sup>, condemned the imposition of death sentence on the South African patriots; demanded unconditional "release of political prisoners and detainees including Nelson Mandela and Zephariah Mothopeng, the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and all other political parties, the repeal of the Internal

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185. Ministerial Meeting of Coordinating Bureau of Nonaligned Countries (New Delhi), April 16-19, 1986 (Mimeo), NAC/CONF.7/NCB December 15, p. 5.

186. Ibid., p. 6.

187. Ibid., p. 14.

188. Ibid., pp. 32-33.

Security Act and all other draconian measures, the removal of troops from townships and the unimpeded return of all political exiles and freedom fighters<sup>189</sup>".

The Ministers pointed out that the Pacific region had many of the remaining NSGTs and reaffirmed their right to self-determination. They urged that Antarctica should be used for ever exclusively for peaceful purposes and noted the growing membership of the Antarctic Treaty. The Ministers regretted that South Africa was also a party to the Antarctic Treaty. Further, they discussed the issues previously considered by the NAM conferences, including of Western Sahara, Mayotte, Malagasy Islands, Chagos Archipelago, including Diego Garcia, Chad, South-East Asia, Korea, South-West Asia, Middle East, Palestine, Lebanon, Indian Ocean, Cyprus, Mediterranean, Europe, Latin American and Caribbean issues - El Salvador, Guatemala, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Grenada, Surinam, Panama, Argentina, Bolivia, Chili, Belize and problems concerning new international information and communication order.

The Bureau spoke with one voice on "peace, disarmament, decolonization and development"<sup>190</sup> and added a new section on international terrorism in the NAM's Political Declaration. It condemned all terrorist activities "whether perpetrated by individuals, groups or states, and resolved to counter them by every legal means"<sup>191</sup>. They urged the member states, particularly the Western countries, to fulfil their obligations "by forbidding the recruitment, use, financing, training, transit and directing of mercenaries and by severely punishing them when apprehended"<sup>192</sup>. Referring to the US bombing of Libya on April 15, Rajiv Gandhi, on April 16, 1986, said: "Its (Libyan) sovereignty has been transgressed; its integrity impugned. We cannot but condemn this"<sup>193</sup>. At this moment of crisis, Libya has full support of the Movement, he asserted. "This must stop. All countries must join forces to combat this common menace

189. Ibid., p. 36.

190. The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), April 21, 1986.

191. Ibid., April 20, 1986.

192. Ibid.

193. Ibid., April 17, 1986.

within the framework of internationally accepted norms<sup>194</sup>".

On April 18, 1986, Iran and Iraq traded charges with each other and also jointly trained their guns at the Movement itself. The Iraqi Prime Minister, Tariq Aziz, warned that "the very credibility of the movement would be greatly undermined if it failed to take a clear stand on the war"<sup>195</sup>. The Iranian Prime Minister, Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati, charged Iraq for committing most inhuman acts in the war that was imposed by the Iraqi leadership which violated international laws and regulations of wartime<sup>196</sup>.

The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Sahabzada Yakub Khan, said that the Soviet penetration was a "bleeding wound"<sup>197</sup> of Afghanistan and it could be healed by a just and honourable political settlement on the basis of withdrawal of foreign forces. In response, the Afghan Foreign Minister, Shah Mohammad Dost, charged Pakistan "with being not only a conduit for arms to Afghan rebels but also staging ground for mercenary attacks and complained: "Hardly a day passed by without a new anti-Afghan provocation by Washington and its local allies".

However, Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, A.C.E. Hameed stressed "the need for setting up some kind of machinery of the non-aligned movement to take immediate steps whenever the sovereignty and integrity of any member country was threatened"<sup>198</sup>.

#### Eighth Summit (Harare), September, 1986

The eighth Summit of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Harare (Zimbabwe) on September 1-6, 1986, under the Chairmanship of Prime Minister Dr. Robert Mugabe. It marked the 25th anniversary of the Movement. It was attended by one hundred and two countries, observers from ten countries and guests from twelve countries besides a large number of organizations<sup>199</sup>. The agenda reiterated

194. Ibid.

195. The Times of India (New Delhi), April 18, 1986.

196. Ibid.

197. Ibid.

198. Ibid.

199. See Appendix VIII.

the earlier issues including, among others, most importantly, the implementation of the Substantial New Programme of Action and Non-Aligned Movement's Plan of Action and measures to strengthen collective self-reliance, including political and economic decolonization.

The Conference, in its solemn 'Declaration', mentioned the urgency of decolonization and end of political and economic domination by imperialist powers. Reviewing the world situation as usual, the participants confirmed that "their efforts will continue to be directed towards liquidation of racism and all vestiges of colonialism, building up a world without war"<sup>200</sup>. They addressed an 'Appeal' to the President of USA, Ronald Regan, and to the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, urging them "to take immediate steps to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war"<sup>201</sup>, to reach "an early agreement on the prevention of an arms race in outer space"<sup>202</sup> and "to reach an accord on a permanent moratorium on nuclear tests". The Final Document relating to Political Declaration included discussion on the role of the non-aligned countries because of which they "are being subjected to all kinds of pressures aimed at weakening the unity of the Movement"<sup>203</sup>, being far inferior to USA and USSR and other Western countries in arms technology. They were perturbed by the US announcement that "it no longer considers itself bound by the provisions of the Second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) of 1979"<sup>204</sup>. They welcomed the unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing declared by the USSR in August, 1985, and in January, 1986. They noted with satisfaction the "initiatives taken by some non-aligned countries to limit the acquisition of conventional arms and reduce military expenditures with a view to allocating the resources so released for the socio-economic development of their peoples". They affirmed that states "may acquire technology, equipment and materials on a non-discriminatory basis for peaceful uses of nuclear energy"<sup>205</sup>.

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200. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXXVII, No. 875, September 20, 1986, p. 28.

201. Ibid., p. 36.

202. Ibid., p. 37.

203. Ibid., p. 38.

204. Ibid., p. 40.

205. Ibid., p. 43.

The Summit considered the situation in territories discussed earlier. It noted that the US Administration supported the UNITA armed criminal bandits<sup>206</sup>, posing an open challenge to the OAU and amounted to an undeclared war by the United States against Angola. It strongly condemned South Africa for "continued recruitment, training, arming, transportation and infiltration of armed bandits into Mozambican territory "to kill the defenceless population and cause massive destruction to the economic and social infrastructure in that country"<sup>207</sup>, and its attack against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It thought it necessary to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Pretoria regime and expressed its solidarity with the objectives of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) to achieve economic growth and collective self-reliance. It strongly condemned South Africa for its continued illegal, colonial and brutal occupation of Namibia and "emphasised the legitimacy of the Namibian people's struggle for self-determination by all available means, including armed struggle"<sup>208</sup>. Condemning the South African policy of apartheid and bantustanization, it said that the "establishment of a non-racial, democratic society in a unitary South Africa can constitute a sound basis for a just, lasting and universally acceptable solution to the problem"<sup>209</sup>. It decided to send a mandate of Foreign Ministers to the United Kingdom, the FRG, Japan and to the USA to press them to agree to the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. The participants reviewed the situation in the territories considered earlier and reiterated the decisions taken by the previous conferences and meetings.

After the Harare Conference, the independent nations strengthened their cooperation and unity under the umbrella of the Non-aligned Movement with the determination to eliminate the Big Power's influence over their countries. This policy, in the past and also at present,

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206. Yakov Etinger, n. 92, p. 22.

207. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXXVII, No. 875, September 20, 1986, p. 45.

208. Ibid., p. 46.

209. Ibid., p. 48.

has led the non-aligned nations in the direction of emancipating and liberating the still dependent countries in the world and their alignment to the Movement has raised and would continue to raise the number of the members in future. The following table<sup>210</sup> shows the gradual development and success of the Non-alignment:-

Participation in Non-aligned Summit Conferences

Summit Conferences	Total	Asia	Africa	Latin America	Europe	Caribbean & Pacific	Others
First Summit, Belgrade, 1961	25	11	11	1	2	-	-
Second Summit, Cairo, 1964	46	15	28	1	2	-	-
Third Summit, Lusaka, 1970	54	15	33	4	2	-	-
Fourth Summit, Algeria, 1973	75	25	40	7	3	-	-
Fifth Summit, Colombo, 1976	85	28	47	7	3	-	-
Sixth Summit, Havana, 1979	92	28	50	11	3	-	-
Seventh Summit, Delhi, 1983	99	28	51	16	3	1	-
Eighth Summit, Harare, 1986	103	29	50	17*	2	1	4*

\* including PLO and SWAPO.

Following the reactionary coup in Chile in September, 1973, the junta regime has been barred from participation in the non-aligned movement. Further, Kampuchea's seat at non-aligned conferences has been vacant since 1979 because of differences in the Movement as regards the country's representation. Moreover, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe (liberation organisation) was taking part in the non-aligned movement since 1979, and since 1982, the Republic of Zimbabwe is

210. For details up to 1983, see Rais Tuzmukhamedov, 'Record of a Quarter Century', Supplement to New Times (Moscow), n.92, p. 2.

participating in the Movement's conferences<sup>211</sup>. The following figures show the strength of non-aligned countries in the world:

<u>Number of countries in the world</u> <sup>212</sup>	<u>Member of the NAM</u>
Asia	42
North America and Central America	23
South America	13
Europe	32
Oceania	8
Africa	53
Total	171
<u>Add</u>	
Palestine (PLO)	1
Santa Lucia (Atlantic), Burkina Fasso, Vanuatu	3
Total (up to 1981)	175
	98
	102

The number of members increased after 1981, and thus 103 member countries participated in the Harare Conference in 1986.

#### Non-aligned Movement : A Flexible Mechanism

With the passage of time the organisation of the Non-aligned countries came to be known as Non-aligned Movement, the membership of which increased year by year with increase in the number of dependent countries in the world. For effective control and joint action, a flexible regulating mechanism for the Movement has been evolved. It is sufficiently effective to promptly react on the occasion of any major events to coordinate the positions of over 100 non-aligned states. The Non-aligned Movement has no budget, international staff or permanent Secretariat-type bodies. The main body

211. Iyan Ivanov, 'For Economic Decolonization', Supplement to New Times (Moscow), n. 92, p. 17.

212. Raj Kumar (ed.), Frank School Atlas (Delhi: Frank Brothers and Company (Publishers) Pvt.Ltd., 1982).



of the Movement is a Conference of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries. Such conferences are usually held once every three years, although there have been exceptions due to various reasons. Meetings of Foreign Ministers are held between Summit Conferences. The Conference of Heads of State and the Meeting of Foreign Ministers, both, have the right to admit new members to the Movement. On the one hand, the Coordinating Bureau assists the Conference of Heads of State and the Meeting of Foreign Ministers, and, on the other, the Bureau is assisted by Plenary Meeting of the Heads of Delegations to the UN General Assembly Sessions and Plenary Meeting of UN Ambassadors. The Bureau comprises seventy-four members and holds regular and, when necessary, special meetings. The Bureau coordinates the social and economic activities of the member countries in twenty-three areas. It also discusses urgent international political issues relating to the Movement and speaks on its behalf.

### Conclusion

The idea of non-alignment took a definite shape during the period 1945-1954. The Panchsheel (1954) was a major step in the direction of Non-alignment. The Bandung Conference (1955) adopted Ten Principles demanding fundamental human rights on the basis of the UN Charter. Nehru, Tito and Nasser became leaders of the Non-aligned Movement. A number of countries became independent. The NAM's first Summit, held at Belgrade in 1961, set out principles of Non-aligned Movement with emphasis on decolonization, international peace and security. The NAM countries held a number of conferences, meetings and eight summit conferences from 1961 to 1986. The members demanded and supported such actions which could establish peace and security in all the countries. They suggested measures on all the problems which disturbed the peace in any country. They supported independence movement and greatly helped in decolonization.

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Revised Projection

# ASIA—POLITICAL



Scale 1:50,000,000

Short Miles  
Long Miles  
Kilometers

W. H. R. S.

## CHAPTER III

### NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN ASIA

Traditionally, the Western countries emerged as powerful nations establishing colonies in Africa, Latin America and the Pacific Islands, and in Asia and Australasia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fact, the West was superior in military equipment, war techniques, political administration and consciousness, while the East was engaged in internal conflicts with lust for power or throne without caring the welfare and developmental measures, so that they had become politically, socially, economically and culturally weak and backward. The Western nations overcame them either by defeating them in war and imposing upon them terms of protection of their own liking or lured the leaders or princes to side with them. The political situation in the following countries, which are not members of the Non-aligned Movement, is summed up to make the conditions of decolonization more clear in the region.

#### New South Wales

The first wave of emancipation came through the Western peoples. For instance, the convicts from England and Scotland were transported to New South Wales (Australia) until 1840. By the end of the nineteenth century (1891), several communities demanded separation<sup>1</sup> from New South Wales, while Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania and Victoria had separate constitutions and along with New South Wales formed a parliamentary democracy. They established the Commonwealth of Australia<sup>2</sup> on January 1, 1901. The rulers were White Australians. They ignored the aboriginal population, and even not included them in official censuses<sup>3</sup>. The Government adopted the "White Australia" policy. The White nations adopted the same policy in their Asian colonies and did not care about the inhabitants' economic, social, educational, cultural and political development, completely ignoring their share in the government.

#### New Zealand

The British navigators reached New Zealand and it became a Crown

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1. The Far East and Australasia (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1988, 19th edn.), p. 175.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> colony in 1852. The White settlers imbibed the Western nationalism. Gradually, the descendants, born in New Zealand, lost the British nationalism and there emerged a group of new politicians espousing liberal ideology. With great sense of patriotism, New Zealand aided the British during the First World War, signed the 'Canberra Pact' with Australia in 1944, and adopted the Statute of Westminster in 1947 which "gave it complete autonomy and freedom of action in international affairs"<sup>5</sup>. The Government, getting British assistance, supported the British policy with regard to political crises in Vietnam, Singapore and Malaysia and signed the ANZUS in 1952 with Australia and the United States. New Zealand also adopted the policy of colonialism. It administered the UN Trust Territory of Western Samoa until 1962, and in 1965 "assisted the Cook Islands in their achieving self-government in free association with New Zealand"<sup>6</sup>. It decided to withdraw its "740-strong army and air force"<sup>7</sup> from Singapore by 1989.

### Mongolia

Mongolia's struggle for independence from Chinese yoke during the first decade of the twentieth century drew the attention of the Asian peoples. Mongolia was earlier a Chinese province,<sup>8</sup> which declared its independence in 1911. The Chinese began to re-establish their control in 1917-1919. However, with the help of Soviet Red Army, Mongolia overthrew the Chinese rule on July 11, 1921, while Russia recognised the People's Government.<sup>9</sup> Thus, on the one hand, Russia began to help the countries struggling for independence, and, on the other, though Soviet troops withdrew from Mongolia, it became dependent upon Russia. Mongolia accepted the Russian protection to save itself from the Chinese aggression and also suppressed an uprising in 1932 and repelled the Japanese invasion in 1939. Mongolia "made heavy contribution

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4. Ibid., p. 681.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements (London: Taylor and Francis, 1985), p. 521.

9. The Europa Year Book, 1986: A World Survey (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1989), vol. II, p. 1680.

to the Soviet war effort"<sup>10</sup> during the Second World War, as New Zealand supported the British. China, however, recognised Mongolia's independence in January, 1946.<sup>11</sup> Mongolia "endorses Soviet policies", but like the USSR, it is not a member of the Non-aligned Movement, but it supports the N.A.M policies in the United Nations. Mongolia participated in the Harare Conference in 1986, with the status of 'Guest'.<sup>12</sup>

### Japan

No country can remain isolated from international politics. So, in the nineteenth century, the United States, France, Britain, Russia and the Netherlands forced "Japanese ports to be opened to foreign ships and vessels".<sup>13</sup> The United States has established military bases on some Japanese islands, while Japan, after the Second World War, has renounced war and "abandoned the Doctrine of Emperor's divinity".<sup>14</sup>

Japan due to its excellence in science, technology and industry, has become pro-US as she is largely dependent on it for raw materials. It has established friendly relations with USSR due to Khrushchev's adoption of the policy of "peaceful co-existence". Japan has close relations with China also and accents Chinese sovereignty over Taiwan. Japan has relations with the developing countries as well. Thus, Japan plays a role of a bridge between the East and the West. It supports disarmament and other objectives of the Non-aligned Movement.

### China

When Nehru, in 1946-48, was advocating the idea of 'neutrality', 'dynamic neutrality', 'positive neutrality' and 'non-involvement', which

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10. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 649.

11. Ibid., p. 648.

12. Review of International Affairs, (Belgrade), Vol.XXXVII, No.875, September 20, 1986, n. 14.

13. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, n. 430.

14. The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol.I, p. 1518.

finally turned into 'non-alignment', China, in 1949, expressed faith in international peace and friendly cooperation between the peoples of all countries. Non-alignment, in broad terms, is defined as "the desire and ability of an independent country, or more accurately, of a country that truly feels itself to be independent, to follow an independent policy in foreign affairs; it is the desire and ability to make up its own mind, to take its own decisions or not to take them, after judging each issue separately and honestly on its merits<sup>15</sup>".

China favoured the countries which were struggling for independence from colonial yoke. Chinese crusade against imperialism won the sympathy of the Soviet Union and the Asian countries. Nehru desired friendship with China, as he did with the Commonwealth, Americas and USSR, but he did not like to be their "satellite" or "plaything"<sup>16</sup>. China's increasing power and its anti-imperialism cautioned the United States, which in 1950s, gave serious consideration to tackling the Chinese problem and wanted to replace China with India, as a permanent member of the Security Council, and seating the "two Chinas" as ordinary members in the General Assembly<sup>17</sup>. Trygve Lie also suggested India could become the sixth permanent member of the Security Council<sup>18</sup>. Such ideas arose due to differences between Peking (Communist China) and Taiwan (Nationalist China). During the 1960s, Albania opposed the admission of the Communist China to the United Nations, but the Non-aligned group collectively urged that Peking should hold China's seat<sup>19</sup>. In view of this, Peking can "hardly be said to have detracted from its position of non-alignment". The Belgrade Declaration asserts: "Those of the countries participating in the Conference which recognise the Government of the People's Republic of China recommend that the General Assembly, at its forthcoming session, would recognise

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15. M.G. Gupta, Encyclopedia of Contemporary International Affairs (Agra: Y.K. Publishers, 1987), Vol. 2, p. 94.

16. Ibid.

17. See for further details F.O. Wilcox and C.M. March, Proposals for Change in the United Nations (Washington: Brookings Institution, D.C., 1955), pp. 301-3.

18. Trygve Lie, In the Cause of Peace (New York: Macmillan, 1954), p.433.

19. Peter Willetts, The Non-Aligned Movement: The Origins of a Third World Alliance (Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt.Ltd., 1978), p. 63.

the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representatives". The Cairo Conference<sup>20</sup> (1964), the Dar es Salaam meeting<sup>22</sup> (1970) and the Lusaka Conference<sup>23</sup> (1970) reiterated the same and said there was "urgent need" to give China "her rightful place". The Algiers Conference (1973) hailed the admission of China to the United Nations<sup>24</sup>.

Later, the Chinese policy of over-interference threatened international peace and security. Her support of independent states proved a masked aggression in the case of Korea and North Vietnam. Her naked aggression was quite clear when China captured Tibet, tried to acquire some parts of Nepal, claimed territory in Burma and India and waged wars. However, China has followed an independent foreign policy without the influence of USSR, although it, in 1950, concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with USSR for thirty years according to which they agreed to render military and other assistance in case of an armed attack by Japan or by any other state assisted by Japan. In view of China's aggressive policy, the Havana Conference (1979) supported the Laos People's Republic "against the Chinese government's threats of aggression and expansionism"<sup>25</sup>.

However, a brief assessment of the position of the territories - Hong Kong and Macau, which struggled for independence and would become a Chinese province in 1997; Taiwan, which has established her own nationalist government; Sparty islands, over which Vietnam claims her sovereignty; and Tibet, which has become a Chinese province are given below:

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20. Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries (Belgrade: Yugoslavija Publishing House, n.d., 2nd edn.), p. 275.
  21. Two Decades of Non-Alignment: Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1983), p. 25.
  22. Ibid., p. 35.
  23. Ibid., p. 47.
  24. Ibid., p. 97.
  25. Ibid., p. 480.

Hong Kong : Hong Kong administers two territories - Kowloon Territory and New Territories. In 1898, the British acquired the latter on lease for 99 years. After the Second World War, Japan handed over Hong Kong to the surviving British officials forestalling US pressure that it should be handed back to China.<sup>26</sup> Due to civil war (1950-1967) in China, Chinese continued to immigrate to Hong Kong and in 1979 and 1987, there was largest influx, encouraged by Beijing despite Hong Kong's protests and closing the border. China, however, has since "refrained from any interference in Hong Kong"<sup>27</sup>.

Hong Kong is still under the British rule. The British government and parliament "retain the power to legislate for the country, to veto ordinances passed by the legislative council, and to issue mandatory instructions to the Governor".<sup>28</sup>

In August, 1984, the Sino-British agreement (a joint declaration) ensured that the British will transfer power "over the whole of Hong Kong to China on July 1, 1997"<sup>29</sup> upon the expiry of the lease. China has declared that Hong Kong will be governed by its own people, by their own laws, except defense and foreign affairs "for a period of 50 years".<sup>30</sup>

Macau : Macau comprises Macau peninsula of the Chinese district of Foshan and two small islands of Taipa and Coloane, 64 km west of Hong Kong.<sup>31</sup> In 1557, the Portuguese established a trading post with China and, in 1845, the colonisers drove out the Chinese and declared Macau a Portuguese territory.<sup>32</sup> In 1951, Macau was declared an overseas province of Portugal.<sup>33</sup> China claimed its sovereignty over Macau and opposed independence movement. During 1961-62, there were "communist riots" and China, in the United Nations, declared that "it regarded the future of Macau as an internal matter".<sup>34</sup> The CDM wanted radical political reform. The AIDM demanded independence. However, after the

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26. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 351.

27. Ibid., p. 352.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid., p. 353.

31. Ibid., p. 596.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol.II, p. 2283.

34. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 596.



military coup in April, 1974, in Portugal, "China refused to discuss the future of Macau with Portugal". Macau, in 1976, achieved virtual political autonomy<sup>35</sup>, and was defined as a "Special Territory" under Portugal. In 1981, there was an "unspoken agreement" between Beijing and Lisbon "not to alter the legal status of Macau"<sup>36</sup>. However, at the fourth round of talks between Portugal and China, an agreement, signed on March 26, 1987, recognised Chinese sovereignty over Macau, which would become "a special administrative region"<sup>37</sup> of China on December 20, 1999. It will have the status as that of Hong Kong. The agreement has, however, guaranteed that after five years, Macau may be "financially independent of China"<sup>38</sup>.

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Taiwan : After the defeat of Japan, Taiwan was returned to China in 1945, and it became a province of China. In early 1949, the Kuomintang (KMT) regime, driven from the mainland of China by the Communists, moved to Taiwan's capital, Taipei, with 600,000 military personnel and others. By 1986, "only 23 countries still recognized the government of Taiwan"<sup>40</sup>. Re-unification proposals with PRC (People's Republic of China) was rejected by the KMT government, which envisaged grant of high degree of autonomy. In 1982, the Taiwan government agreed for re-unification on the basis of "Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People"<sup>41</sup>. In 1983, Taiwan agreed for re-unification retaining the right to purchase military equipment from abroad. But the Chinese leaders urged the re-unification on the principle of "one country -two systems"<sup>42</sup>. Further, Taiwan declared that it would not negotiate with Beijing until it renounced Communism, and the "three no's policy"<sup>43</sup> i.e. no compromise, no contact and no negotiation. Taiwan declared the PRC-Portugal agreement with regard to Chinese sovereignty over Macau as null and void. Within hours of the death of President Chiang Ching-kuo on January 13, 1988, Lee Teng-hui was sworn in as the seventh President of Taiwan. 44

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35. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol.II, p.2283.

36. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 597.

37. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol.II, p. 2283.

38. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 597.

39. Ibid., p. 297.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., p. 298.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Keesing's Contemporary Archives : Record of World Events (London: Longman's Group Limited), Vol. XXXIV, February, 1988, p.35715.

Spartly Islands : The Spartly Islands, known to the Chinese as the Nansha Islands and to the Vietnamese as the Truong Sa, consist of a group of islets, coral reefs and sandbars in the South China Sea, sovereignty over which is claimed by China, Vietnam, Taiwan, Malaysia and the Philippines.<sup>45</sup> This archipelago is strategic due to its proximity to shipping lines and possibility of oil and gas reserves. On April 15, 1987, Vietnam occupied the Bojiao island, backed by the Soviet Union. China demanded withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Bijiao and nine other islands. China alleged that "Vietnam's purpose in illegally despatching troops to Bojiao island is to occupy the continental shelf nearby and pave the way for its future exploitation of oil".<sup>46</sup> Complaining against Taiwan, China stated that since 1946, the island had been "guarded by the KMT" and viewed "to stop Vietnam's expansionist atrocity and even to punish it severely". Contrarily, Vietnam rejected the Chinese allegations and stated that Chinese ships had been conducting "illegal activities" and exercises in the Vietnamese archipelago, Truong Sa from May 16 to June 6, 1987. Later, in February-March, 1988, the situation became "dangerously tense" and in March both sides accused the other of attacking their ships. China, however, rejected terms for negotiations with Hanoi and asserted its "undisputable sovereignty"<sup>47</sup> over the Spartly Islands.

Tibet : On September 19-29, 1987, the 14th Dalai Lama, "the exiled religious and secular head of Tibet" visited the United States, while there was a series of demonstrations in Lhasa "calling for Tibetan Independence".<sup>48</sup> The New China News Agency reported that "26 people, mainly monks, took part" in the demonstration which ended in violence, but the "Western eye-witnesses said that hundreds of people had taken part".<sup>49</sup> Two Tibetans, who campaigned for independence, were executed. On October 5, 1987, Buddhist monks denounced "human rights violations" and asked the United Nations to support their "call for independence".<sup>50</sup> Ninety of the monks, who demanded independence and return of Dalai Lama, were arrested, but released on October 9. A Chinese leader on

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45. Ibid., p. 35902.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., pp. 35716-17.

49. Ibid., p. 35717.

50. Ibid.

October 16, blamed the Dalai Lama and a few US Congressmen for causing the unrest. The United States on June 18, 1987, condemned the Chinese occupation of Tibet, human rights violations and the "immigration of millions of Chinese on to the Tibetan plateau".

On September 21, 1987, the Dalai Lama announced a new "five-point peace plan", before the US Senate. The Plan designated "Tibet as a 'Zone of Peace' and end of the Chinese immigration in Tibet, restoration of fundamental human rights, a halt to China's nuclear development programme there and talks on Tibet's status as an autonomous region of China". The Plan received support of a number of Congressmen, who wrote to the Chinese Premier to consider the Dalai Lama's proposal for a 'zone of peace'. The Chinese government accused the US Congress of "wanton interference" in Chinese internal affairs, by treating Tibet as a separate country, while the White House and State Department threatened that "Sino-US relations could suffer"<sup>51</sup>. The Panchan Lama, during his visit to Lhasa on January 11, 1988, was reported to have said that the Chinese government "greatly cares about Tibetan affairs and the Tibetan people"<sup>52</sup>. In February, 1988, Jimmy Carter, the US President, during his visit to Tibet said that he was "pleased by economic and religious developments in Tibet"<sup>53</sup>.

India has closed her borders with Tibet since October 7, 1987, to prevent an influx of refugees.

Walled City in Kowloon : By the Convention of Peking (1898), China had ceded the New Territories and Kowloon to Britain, which respected the Chinese sovereignty over the Walled City. Hong Kong claimed sovereignty over the City. However, after a long-running legal battle, Hong Kong and China, in early, 1987, agreed to raze the Walled City to the ground in 1990. The City covering an area of six acres near Kai Tak international airport, houses a population estimated between 33,000 and 40,000. The area would be turned into a park.<sup>54</sup>

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51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., p. 35967.

## Thailand

Thailand, formerly known as Siam until 1939, was an independent kingdom since the twelfth century. Helplessly, Siam in 1893, concluded a treaty with France with cession of parts of territories of Laos and Cambodia to French Indochina and also signed a treaty with Britain in 1909, with cession of part of Malaya. During the First World War, it sided with the Allies and became member of the League of Nations (1934-39); but during the Second World War, it was in alliance with Japan against the Allies, but the Thai Ambassador in Washington "never conveyed his government's declaration of war"<sup>55</sup>.

From 1947 to 1987, the country suffered from instability of the Government due to seizure by army in a coup, or through elections or "no confidence" motion. In 1976, the King appointed Gen. Kriangsak Chomanan as Prime Minister and nominated a National Legislative Assembly, which approved a new constitution, lifted the ban on political gatherings imposed since 1975, and held elections. The Senate nominated by the Prime Minister comprised military men. Due to opposition, Gen. Kriangsak resigned in March, 1980, and Gen. Prem was appointed Prime Minister. He was backed by the King and survived coups and attempts to overthrow him by the National Democratic Party (NDP), formed by the former Prime Minister, Gen. Kriangsak, and other high army officials. The new Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, Gen. Chaovalit suppressed the Communists<sup>56</sup>. In 1988, opposition to Gen. Prem grew stronger, but he successfully averted a "no-confidence" motion, asking the King to dissolve the House of Representatives. However, many dissidents resigned from the Democratic Party (DP) to form a separate party, while elections are likely to be held in 1990.<sup>57</sup>

In May, 1984, Thailand was in dispute with Laos on the question of three villages on their joint border. In October, 1984, the United Nations considered the problem. Thailand withdrew its troops from the area. In 1987, another border dispute arose and the two countries agreed to settle their border dispute according to Franco-Siamese Treaty

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55. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 800.

56. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, p. 2585.

57. Ibid.

of 1907, but two rounds of discussion failed. The Thai Government proposed the establishment of a "Joint Committee" to demarcate the border line, to which Laos has not responded.<sup>58</sup>

Thailand's relations with Vietnam deteriorated in December, 1978, when Vietnam invaded Kampuchea and Thailand recognized Democratic Kampuchea (government-in-exile) supported by the United States. Vietnam invaded Thailand on the pretext of preventing Kampuchean resistance forces entering Kampuchea via Thailand. In mid-1987, there were serious clashes between Vietnam and Thai forces.

Thailand became member of ASEAN and condemned the presence of foreign forces in Kampuchea. But due to war with Vietnam, Thailand, in January, 1987, entered into an agreement with the United States permitting the latter "to establish a stockpile of non-nuclear weapons"<sup>59</sup> without military bases. According to the United States, the stockpile was "intended to defend Thailand against possible attack by Soviet-supported forces from Kampuchea".<sup>60</sup> However, it could be used "in emergencies by either country".<sup>61</sup> Since, in 1987, the United States reduced the military support, Thailand concluded an agreement with China "whereby Thailand was to buy tanks and other military equipment at low prices".<sup>62</sup>

According to Burton, Thailand faced the demands for social and political change.<sup>63</sup> He says that the King and the Royalists did not like to abdicate the throne for establishment of a purely democratic state. Therefore, they wanted military support from any big power to suppress the people's demand and this was possible only on pretext of 'communist' threat. Accordingly, the United States supported Thailand, but it withdrew its alliance having no possibility of its foothold on its land. Later, when the Soviet relations with China deteriorated, Thailand

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.; see also The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 933.

60. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 932.

61. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol.II, p. 2585.

62. Ibid.

63. See for further details J. Burton, International Relations: A General Theory (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p.235; see also Peter Willetts, n. 19, p. 22.

sought assistance from China against "communist subversion"<sup>64</sup>. Thus, the government has crushed the people's demand for abolition of Kingship and establishment of a democratic government.

There is neither inter-state conflict nor pressure on government from within the state, nor conflict with Great power, not consistency with existing policy, which are the causes of alliance-formation in the Third World.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, it is hoped that, like Cambodia, which joined the NAM due to dispute with Thailand and Vietnam, Thailand will also join the NAM when one or more causes would arise for such an alliance in future.

#### NAM AND NEWLY INDEPENDENT NATIONS

The political developments and circumstances, under which the newly independent countries became members of the Non-aligned Movement have been described below:

##### (A) FAR EAST AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

This region consists of the Union of Burma, Kampuchea (Cambodia), Koreas, Laos (Tonkin), Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam.

##### (1) BURMA

Britain fought three wars to occupy Burma; the first in 1824, the second in 1852, and the third in 1885, when the last Burmese King, Thibaw, was deported to India, and a British Government in Rangoon was instituted, which was subordinated to the British Government in India.<sup>66</sup> Burma remained under British rule from 1896 to 1948.

The General Council of Burmese Association (GCBA) launched the nationalist movement for independence and the Government introduced reforms in the form of 'diarchy'. In 1937, Burma was separated from India, becoming an autonomous state within the British Commonwealth and a constitution and a legislative assembly were given. In 1942,

64. Peter Willetts, n. 19, p. 226.

65. Ibid., p. 227.

66. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 260.

the Thakin youths formed a National Burmese Army which fought with Japan and the British Indian army and freed Burma, but Japan imposed a puppet government. In 1944, Aung San formed the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), which aided the Allied forces. After Japan was defeated, the British returned. Aung San waged struggle for liberation and the Government agreed to limited self-determination.<sup>67</sup> Elections, in 1945, were won by AFPFL. Two years later, Prime Minister Aung San and six members of the executive council were assassinated in July, 1947, and U Nu assumed office. The Aung San assassination created such indignation and uprising that Britain was forced to grant independence on January 4, 1948,<sup>68</sup> outside the Commonwealth. In fact, the people were emancipated by Nehru's proclamation of neutrality and non-alignment and condemnation of colonialism in any form.

The UN General Assembly on March 31, 1953, included in its agenda a "complaint by the Union of Burma regarding aggression against it by the Government of the Republic of China".<sup>69</sup> According to the Burmese Government, the Kuomintang troops, in 1950, had crossed the Burmese border. The Kuomintang troops, in 1953, increased to about 12,000. According to the Chinese Government, the army led by Gen. Li Mi was not a part of its regular forces. However, due to the General Assembly resolution and support of the United States and Thailand,<sup>70</sup> the Chinese withdrew in 1956.

U Nu was an active collaborator of Nehru, Tito and Nasser. In 1960, he was re-elected Prime Minister and in September, 1961, Burma

67. Ibid.

68. Ivo Dvorak, The Non-Aligned Countries (London: Harney and Jones Limited, 1982), p. 101; "On January 1, 1948, Burma became an independent republic outside the Commonwealth by the London Treaty of October 17, 1947", The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 105.

69. The Year Book of the United Nations, 1953, p. 162; 1954, p. 52.

70. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 105; see also Everyman's United Nations (New York: United Nations, 1979), pp. 122-23.

participated in the first Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Movement at Belgrade in 1961.<sup>71</sup>

Since U Nu administration proved ineffective, Gen. Ne Win staged a coup, deposed U Nu, instituted a Revolutionary Council, suspended the constitution and outlawed all the political parties, except the government-sponsored Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) in March, 1964. The BSPP changed the name of the country to the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.<sup>72</sup> Ne Win was elected President in 1972 and 1978. In May, 1980, as general amnesty was declared for political prisoners, exiles and rebels, U Nu returned to Burma. In 1988, Ne Win requested all organs of the state "to prepare accurate reports for evaluation before the sixth Congress of the BSPP",<sup>73</sup> scheduled for 1989.

Burma maintains a policy of "neutrality"<sup>74</sup> and has no external defence treaties. She is one of the poorest countries in Asia, but it is potentially rich in agricultural, fishery, timber, mineral and water resources, and has significant deposits of petroleum, tin, copper and coal. Inefficient and expensive system of transport has prevented Burma from attaining the highest benefits. However, it has "nationalized industry, transport, internal and external trade, communications and finances".<sup>75</sup> It is a member of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and with the World Bank and has been aided by the UN agencies.

## (2) KAMPUCHEA

On June 17, 1884, France imposed an agreement on the Khmer King and gradually occupied Indo-China, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea (formerly Combodia or Annam) and in the beginning of the twentieth century, there were uprisings and revolts against the French colonialism. The founding of the Communist Party of Indochina (CPI) led by Ho Chi Minh revolutionised a movement and a struggle against the French. During the Second World War i.e. from 1940 to October 5, 1945, the Japanese occupied the region, but in 1949, the French returned to power,

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71. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 5.

72. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 598.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid., p. 599.

75. Ibid.



affiliated the country as member of the French Union<sup>76</sup>, disregarding the agreement for granting autonomy to the country.

The impact of independence movements in Asia and Africa was that France recognised de jure independence, but reserved for herself her control over military affairs, external relations, justice and the police, keeping the country's destiny under thumb of the French rule. In 1951, Prince Sihanouk launched peaceful resistance and the situation forced France to withdraw its troops and soon thereafter independence<sup>77</sup> of the People's Republic of Cambodia was declared on November 9, 1953. Sihanouk, confirmed as Premier in 1954, abdicated the throne in favour of his father and became a political leader. He founded the Popular Socialist Community and won elections in 1955, 1958, 1962 and 1966. His father, King Suramarit, died in April, 1960, and in June, Parliament<sup>78</sup> elected Prince Sihanouk as Head of State. Though he pursued a neutralist policy, he persecuted the Communists and encouraged return of Cambodian students, particularly Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, who studied in France and were influenced by the Chinese policy.

After the French withdrew in 1955, and Cambodia announced its withdrawal from the French Union, the United States intervened and Sihanouk broke off ties with Washington in May, 1965. The United States supported Prime Minister Lt. Gen. Lon Nol, who carried out a right-wing coup in Phnom Penh and deposed Sihanouk. Lon Nol appealed to the United States for military aid to remove foreign Communist forces. In October, 1970, Marshal Lon Nol proclaimed the Khmer Republic and in June, 1972, was elected President. On the other side, Sihanouk formed in exile the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (GRUNC), which was recognised by the Non-aligned<sup>79</sup> and many other states "as the rightful government of Cambodia"<sup>80</sup> in 1973. The war between US-backed<sup>81</sup>

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76. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 438.

77. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 515.

78. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1581.

79. See for further details Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 143.

80. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1581.

81. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 515.

Lon Nol regime and GRUNC forces reached its peak. However, on April 17, 1975, the United States was defeated by the joint forces of National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK)-led by Sihanouk, and the Vietnamese and Laotian patriots. The Liberation Army-GRUNC forces (mainly Khmer Rouge) occupied Phnom Penh and Prince Sihanouk became Head of State. On January 5, 1976, a new constitution changed the name of Khmer Republic into Democratic Kampuchea<sup>82</sup>. But in April, 1976, Sihanouk resigned and GRUNC was dissolved. Khieu Samphan became President and Pol Pot Prime Minister. . . .

The Chinese supported Pol Pot, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) and Ieng Sary, who murdered the revolutionary leaders who refused to yield to the Chinese pressure. The Pol Pot repression depopulated the cities and closed the factories and the labourers were forced to work in fields to supply grain to China. "During three years they killed millions"<sup>83</sup>. On December 2, 1979, the United Front of National Salvation of Cambodia was founded. The revolutionary forces overthrew the Pol Pot's group in early 1979. On January 7, 1979, the Salvation Front together with Vietnamese troops seized Phnom Penh and three days later People's Republic of Kampuchea was proclaimed.<sup>84</sup>

In August, 1979, the Pol Pot group, on charges of genocide, was sentenced to death. Ieng Sary escaped and fled to Peking. India recognised the People's Republic of Kampuchea on July 7, 1980. Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea held meetings in Phnom Penh in January, 1980; then in Vientianne in December, 1980; and again in Ho Chi Minh City in January, 1981.

On August 12, 1980, Kampuchea captured 600 Pol Pot men in Thai dress with Chinese and American weapons and equipment. China and Thailand, two important members of the ASEAN prevented Kampuchea from gaining recognition of its legitimate right to represent the country. Thailand, being a neighbour, is the most vociferous among the ASEAN countries in its attacks against Kampuchea.

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82. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 438.

83. Ibid.

84. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1582. .

Since 1979, Vietnam has been aiding Kampuchea against the united armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea (in exile) on the Thai-Kampuchean border. As a result, about 230,000 refugees crossed the border into Thailand and Vietnam occupied most of the border areas "including the base camps of all three groups in the coalition"<sup>85</sup>. In 1987, the Coalition Government in exile claimed 700,000 refugees.

The United Nations, in a resolution, accused Vietnam of armed intervention into internal affairs of Kampuchea. The USSR vetoed the resolution. However, the United Nations called upon Vietnam in 1980, 1981 and 1982, to withdraw its forces. Kampuchea and Vietnam signed an agreement on July 20, 1983, on delimitation of border<sup>86</sup>. In 1985, Vietnam announced that "all its troops would be withdrawn by 1990". Meanwhile, links with China developed.

Among other countries, USA, China and ASEAN countries supported the KPRP government in exile of Democratic Kampuchea, which aims at securing withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. KPRP is a coalition of Prince Sihanouk, President Khien Samphan (Khmer Rouge), Vice-President, and Son Sann (KPNLF), Prime Minister, formed in June, 1982.

Kampuchea has always been on the agenda of NAM conferences. The Ministerial Conference (1975), at Lima, paid homage to the heroism of the people of Kampuchea, who won victory against the forces of imperialist powers, thus, "finally liberating their country on April 17, 1975, from the domination of American imperialists and a treacherous puppet regime". The Ministers condemned the "American imperialism, which, not accepting defeat, seeks by all means to sabotage Kampuchea's independence and peace, in order to prevent the reconstruction of the country ravaged by the war of imperialist aggression"<sup>87</sup>. The Fifth Summit Conference held at Colombo<sup>88</sup> (1976) hailed the victories against

85. Ibid.

86. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.8, p. 438; see also for further details Year Book of the United Nations, 1979, pp. 306-07; see also UN Chronicle, December, 1983, pp. 27-33.

87. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 143.

88. Ibid., p. 199.

imperialism in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. The Conference hailing the success, said: "They are also the results of the practical solidarity of all non-aligned and Third World peoples, of all those countries which love peace and justice in the world".

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs on September 25-28, 1981, at New York, said that "the tension in and around Kampuchea should not escalate over a wider area<sup>89</sup> ...". The Ministers hoped that a process of negotiation would create mutual understanding so that the people might use their right to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion. They also noted "the efforts being made for the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region"<sup>90</sup>.

The Seventh Summit Conference held at New Delhi (1983) expressed "grave concern over the continuing conflicts and tension in the region", and demanded "withdrawal of all foreign forces" and "elimination of involvement and threats of intervention by outside powers"<sup>91</sup>. The NAM members to the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly in a meeting held in New York on October 4-7, 1983, and on October 1, 1985,<sup>92</sup> reiterated the resolution of the New Delhi Summit Conference. The Coordinating Bureau on April 19-21, 1985, in New Delhi,<sup>93</sup> as also by the Ministers of the Non-aligned countries at a meeting in Luanda on September 4-7, 1985, and the Harare Conference on September 1-6, 1986,<sup>94</sup> reiterated the same.

### (3) KOREA

Korea, formerly a monarchy, was annexed by Japan in 1910, when

89. Ibid., p. 546.

90. Ibid., p. 547.

91. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement: Documents of the Gatherings of the Nonaligned Countries, 1983-1986, Vol. II, (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1986), p. 32.

92. Ibid., pp. 105-19.

93. Ibid., p. 184.

94. Ibid., p.241.

the Emperor was deposed<sup>96</sup>. Inspired by the 1917 Soviet Revolution, the Koreans rose against the Japanese and formed the Korean Community Party (KCP) in 1925. During the Second World War, KCP's guerilla commander, Kim II Sung, organised Korean People's Revolutionary Army and, with the Soviet military assistance, routed the Japanese on August 15, 1945.

Sensing the Soviet plan to turn Korea a socialist country, the United States landed its troops in the southern peninsula. The US and the Soviet troops stood as rivals, which broke their war-time collaboration. However, the Potsdam Agreements in July, 1945, allowed the Soviet Union to station its forces in the North of the 38th parallel and the United States in the South, which marked the division of the country. To avoid further tension, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union formed at Moscow in December, 1945, a Joint Trust Commission (including China) for maintaining Korea's national unity, democracy and independence<sup>97</sup>, but the United States broke this Agreement on August 15, 1946<sup>98</sup>, by declaring the South as the Republic of Korea, despite people's demand for re-unification of North and South and Soviet protests. Consequently, in the North, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was proclaimed by the Northern and Southern deputies on September 9, 1946<sup>99</sup>, at Pyongyang, despite US repression and execution of advocates of re-unification and holding unilateral elections in May, 1948, in the South.

North Korea (DPRK) : DPRK was recognised by the USSR and other communist countries. Soviet forces withdrew from North Korea in December, 1948, in fulfilment of the Moscow Agreements. It signed defense treaties with USSR and China<sup>100</sup>. The country's "application of February, 1949, for admission to the United Nations was rejected because of a US veto"<sup>101</sup>. However, in 1973, it became member of WHO and subsequently

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95. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 50.

96. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1613.

97. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 529.

98. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1613.

99. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 530.

100. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1615.

101. Ibid.; see also The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.8, p. 443; see also The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 1866-75; see also Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 383.

gained status of permanent observer at the United Nations on August 26, 1975, and was also admitted to the Non-aligned Movement at the Peru Ministerial meeting<sup>102</sup> held in Lima on August 25-30, 1975.

South Korea (RK): The Republic of Korea signed military treaties with the United States in 1948 and 1950 and a Treaty on Mutual Defense in August, 1953, granting "US armed forces the right to maintain land, sea and air bases on Korean territory"<sup>103</sup>. It signed a treaty on Normalization of Relations with Japan in Tokyo in 1965. South Korea's application of January 1, 1949, for admission to the United Nations was rejected due to veto of the USSR. However, it also has the status of permanent observer at the United Nations and is member of all the UN agencies with the exception<sup>104</sup> of ILO. The Soviet Union shot down a Korean Airlines passenger plane 007 on September 1, 1983, which was a subject of discussion at the United Nations.

The Korean problem was placed by the United States before the United Nations in September, 1947. The UN General Assembly created the 'UN Temporary Commission on Korea' in November, and authorised it to conduct a national election and establish "a national government for the whole country"<sup>105</sup>, which was hailed by South Korea and the United States.

South Korea is a focal point of tension and danger in Asia and the whole world. There was widespread discontent, instability of government, upheavals, assassination and arrests during 1948-1984. In 1984, due to students' protests, the Government released several thousand prisoners and lifted ban on 84 politicians. They founded New Korea Democratic Party (NKDP), which emerged as a major opposition force<sup>106</sup>. The party, in 1986, demanded constitutional reforms. President Chun finally agreed and negotiations continued throughout the year without any decision. As a result a very large demonstration was held

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102. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 141.

103. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1613.

104. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, 1984, n.9, Vol. II, pp. 1876-91; see also UN Chronicle, March, 1984, p. 54.

105. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 529.

106. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1624.

in November, 1986, and more than 1,000 students were arrested in Seoul only.

In April, 1987, there was internal division within NKDP, with the formation of the Re-Unification Democratic Party (RDP). The RDP manifesto declared its objectives of re-unification of North and South Korea. As Chun's Democratic Justice Party (DJP) refused to recognise RDP and wanted to delay the constitutional reforms, student demonstrators clashed with police violently. However, under pressure of DJP leadership itself and world opinion, President Chun resigned and a constitutional amendment was approved in 1987 by "93.1% of the votes cast in a national referendum"<sup>107</sup>. In February, 1988, Roh Tae Woo became President and Lee Hyun-Jae Prime Minister. The amendment stipulated that "the Republic of Korea shall seek peaceful unification of the Korean peninsula, based on the principles of freedom and democracy", but due to conditions created by various incidents, relations between the North and South worsened. Further, in 1979, US commitment to South Korea was confirmed. In November, 1983, Regan visited Seoul and Chun visited Washington in March, 1985. The United States pressurised the Seoul Government "to introduce further democratic reforms". In May 1985, the United States "pledged to continue US security links with the country"<sup>108</sup>. In April, 1987, President Chun visited four Western European countries to expand its political and economic relations.

The question of South Korea has been discussed in various meetings and conferences of the Non-aligned Movement and resolutions in favour of its re-unification were passed<sup>109</sup>. As a result, the North-South dialogue for the purpose is continuing. The NAM's Third Summit Conference held at Lusaka (1970) noted with concern the presence of foreign troops in Korea "posing a threat to national independence and international peace and security"<sup>110</sup>. The Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Georgetown (1972) noted with satisfaction "the initial results which have been achieved towards a peaceful reunification of Korea",

107. Ibid., p. 1625.

108. Ibid.

109. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n.91, p. 184.

110. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 46.

demanding "the cessation of all foreign intervention in the matter" and called for "withdrawal of all foreign forces"<sup>111</sup>. The Fourth Summit Conference held at Algiers (1973), remarking that Korea had been divided for nearly thirty years, expressed fear that "further extension of this division would represent a constant threat to peace and security in Asia and in the world", demanded that "an end be put to foreign interference in Korea"<sup>112</sup> and the right to self-determination guaranteed to the people so that they could settle their problems themselves by peaceful means. The participants opposed the admission of two Koreas to the UNO and asked the 28th Meeting of the UN General Assembly to consider the question of Korea.

The Fifth Summit Conference held at Colombo (1976) "strongly demanded that the imperialists immediately stop their manoeuvres to provoke war and all other means of war they have introduced in the area", called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea<sup>113</sup> and supported "the struggle of the people in the North and the South of Korea to reunify their country"<sup>114</sup>. The NAM's Sixth summit conference reiterated these demands. The Seventh Summit Conference held at New Delhi (1983) reaffirmed its support for reunification "in conformity with the three principles of independence, peaceful unification and great national unity, set forth in the joint North-South statement of 4 July 1972"<sup>115</sup>. The Eighth Summit Conference, held at Harare, (1986) noted with concern that "Korea remains divided; this poses a potential threat to peace"<sup>116</sup>.

The Havana meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1975) reaffirmed its "support for the policy of independent and peaceful reunification, without outside interference in their internal affairs"<sup>117</sup>. The Bureau recommended the application of Korea for admission to the NAM Ministerial Conference to be held at Lima in 1975.<sup>118</sup> The Havana Ministerial

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111. Ibid., p. 73.

112. Ibid., p. 115.

113. Ibid., p. 199.

114. Ibid., p. 200.

115. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n.91, p. 33.

116. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 50.

117. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 133.

118. Ibid.



meeting<sup>119</sup> (1982) and the New Delhi Ministerial meeting<sup>120</sup> (1986) reiterated the earlier resolutions. The participants hoped that the country would be unified in conformity with the three principles of independence, peaceful unification and great national unity<sup>121</sup>.

#### (4) LAOS

From 1893 to 1949, the Kingdom was called Lanxang, under France. During the First World War, France exploited fully the natural wealth of Laos and recruited 50,000 troops and 49,000 workers to serve France. In October, 1930, the Communist Party of Indochina was founded to fight against the French imperialism and to regain national independence. In 1939, the French, after the Popular Front, recruited 1,500,000 soldiers and workers, lengthened throughout Indochina the working hours from the old 48 per week to 60 for men and 54 for women, in addition to raising the taxes. After defeat of France by Germany in 1939, Laos was transferred to Japanese fascists.

During the Second World War, the Laos people put up resistance against Japan and independence was proclaimed on October 12, 1945. France dropped hundreds of bombs and within a few hours killed thousands of men. The Pathet Lao force and the provisional government were forced to withdraw to Thailand. The French, in 1945, merged the three principalities - Luang Prabang, Vientiana and Champassac, and recognised Sisavang Vong, the ruler of Luang Prabang since 1904, as King of Laos<sup>122</sup>. The King promulgated a democratic constitution in May, 1947<sup>123</sup>. Laos became an independent state within the French Union on July 19, 1949, and "full sovereignty was recognized by France in October, 1953"<sup>124</sup>. The Royalist politician, Prince Souvanna Phouma, became Prime Minister. Following the Geneva Treaty signed on July 22, 1954, the French troops withdrew in September, 1954, as the International Commission for

119. Ibid., p. 571.

120. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 91, p.241.

121. Ibid.

122. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, n. 1660.

123. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, n. 580.

124. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1660.

Control and Supervision in Laos composed of India, Canada and Poland remained in operation from 1954 to 1958. Since 1950, the armed branch of Pathet Lao, or the Neo Lao Itsala i.e. Lao Patriotic Front (LPF), which led the insurgent movement against the French, refused to accept the truncated government.

In 1960, there was a civil war due to US military assistance to the Rightists. The 1962 Geneva Conference confirmed the neutrality of Laos. But US agents unleashed terror in Vientiane and in April, 1963, neutralist personalities including Foreign Minister Quinin Pholsena were assassinated. The Pathet Lao continued to fight against the US forces and the Lao People's Liberation Army (LPLA) controlled three-fifths of the north-east of the country with the assistance of the Vietnamese communists - the Viet-Minh, who were engaged in war with the French until 1954. Several attempts, during 1950s, to reunite the country failed. In 1965, de facto partition resulted as the LPF refused to participate in elections and "persisted to consolidate its power over the north-eastern province".

Since the border of South Vietnam ran through the Pathet Lao controlled areas, Lao remained closely involved in war with Vietnam. The United States, in 1971, attacked the liberated area with all its planes, bombers and the Seventh Fleet aircraft. The LPLA shot down 65 US helicopters and destroyed 40 tanks and within 43 days the US forces were annihilated. The Government expelled those officials who had collaborated with the United States. In February, 1973, a treaty between Vietnam and Pathet Lao was signed. According to Protocol of September 14, 1973, all foreign troops withdrew from Laos. In 1974, a new government was formed with the association of the Royalists, Neutralists and the LPF with Prince Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister, who resigned. On December 2, 1975, monarchy was abolished and Lao People's Democratic

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125. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.8, p. 451; see also The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 1903-10.

126. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 451.

127. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1660.

128. Ibid.

Republic was proclaimed. In 1979, LPF was replaced by Lao Front for National Reconstructions (LFNR). Vietnam and Lao signed another treaty on July 18, 1977, to ensure economic and defense cooperation. In 1982, there was a partial normalization of border relations with Thailand.

Laos, since 1975, heavily depended on Vietnamese economic and military assistance. As a result, Laos permitted stationing of Vietnamese forces (between 30,000 and 50,000<sup>129</sup>) in 1987. Laos, following the NAM principles did not enter into military alliance with any super power, which could affect its foreign policy and sovereignty. In 1986, the two countries settled their border dispute and, in 1987, they restored diplomatic relations.

Relations with Thailand have been strained since 1975. Laos and Thailand claimed three villages on the Thai-Lao border. Their dispute turned into military clashes. However, in March, 1988, both sides agreed to ceasefire and to settle dispute amicably<sup>130</sup>.

Laos joined the Non-aligned Movement at the NAM's Second Summit Conference held at Cairo (1964), attended by Prime Minister Prince Souvanna<sup>131</sup>. The Third Summit Conference at Lusaka (1970) expressed concern over the presence of US forces in Indochina, calling for a "peaceful solution of the problems of Laos and Cambodia" ensuring their freedom<sup>132</sup>. The Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers (1972), expressing solidarity with "the struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos for their self-determination", noted that "they were continuing their struggle with renewed vigour and perseverance"<sup>133</sup>. The Fourth Summit Conference held at Algiers (1973) hoped that "the signatory parties (to the Vietnam Agreement) will sign protocol for the creation of a national coalition government in Laos"<sup>134</sup>. The Conference noted that

129. 40,000 in 1978; see The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 582.

130. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1660; see also The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 451.

131. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.21, p. 28.

132. Ibid., p. 51.

133. Ibid., p. 73.

134. Ibid., p.95.

the "history-making victories of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos represent a portion of the aspirations of all oppressed peoples of the world"<sup>135</sup>. The Lima Ministerial Conference (1975) demanded that the US Government should "contribute to the repair of war damage in Laos"<sup>136</sup>, and requested the international community to actively help in the economic reconstruction of Laos. The Fifth Summit Conference held at Colombo (1976) warmly acclaimed the total victory of the Lao people and defeat of neo-colonialism in Laos and called it a "common victory of the national liberation movement and of all progressive and peace loving forces over imperialism"<sup>137</sup>.

#### (5) MALAYSIA

Britain obtained Malay from the Dutch in exchange of Sumatra. In 1841, and 1878, Britain acquired also Sarawak and Sabah (North Borneo). In 1896, it constituted the Federated Malay States from Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang under administration of a British Resident.<sup>138</sup> In 1909, Siam relinquished its authority over Perils, Kelantan, Trengganu and Kedah, which formed Non-Federated Malay States governed by a British Counsellor. Later, the City of Johore also came under British protection. After the fall of Japan, the British returned and formed in February, 1948, the Federation of Malay, including eleven<sup>139</sup> States and two settlements - Malacca and Penang.

The Malay guerillas fought against the Japanese and the British occupation for twelve years. On August 31, 1957, the sovereignty of the Federation of Malaya was proclaimed, consisting of thirteen states within the British Commonwealth.<sup>140</sup> On September 17, 1957, it became member of the United Nations. The British, to have an indirect control over the government, "turned over the government to the Party of the Malacca Alliance, composed of pro-imperialist bourgeois elements and large landowners"<sup>141</sup>. To consolidate the pro-imperialist hold, Britain

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135. Ibid., p. 109.

136. Ibid., p. 143.

137. Ibid., p. 199.

138. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 605.

139. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1761.

140. Ibid.

141. The Non-Aligned Countries, n. 58, p. 451.

proposed to establish a Federation of Malaysia, combining Malay Peninsula, the island of Singapore and Kalimantan (Borneo) without Brunei. In spite of protest of Indonesia, formation of the Federation of Malaysia was proclaimed on September 16, 1963.

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tengku (Prince) Abdul Rahman was adamantly against a union of Malaya and Singapore as then Singapore's Chinese would outnumber Malaya's Malays. However, in August, 1962, an agreement was reached in London between Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and Tengku Abdul Rahman, which allowed Britain to retain its giant naval base in Singapore. Due to fearful conflict between the two ethnic groups - Chinese and Malays which left many dead and hundreds wounded, the Federation was dissolved in August, 1965. In September, 1965, Singapore "withdrew and proclaimed itself an independent republic";<sup>142</sup> thus, reducing the component status from 14 to 13. The States of Malaya were designated West Malaysia in 1966, later styled Peninsular Malaysia. In 1967, Malaysia facilitated the formation of ASEAN, joined by Brunei in January, 1984.<sup>143</sup>

The Federation served the neo-colonialist purposes. In 1966, Malaysia and Indonesia ended their three year tensions and clashes. It joined as member<sup>144</sup> the Dar es Salaam meeting of the Non-aligned countries in 1970, and was included in the Standing Committee<sup>145</sup> formed to maintain liaison with the host country. It followed the policy of the Non-aligned Movement and attended the Lusaka Conference held in September, 1970.<sup>146</sup> The New York Ministerial meeting held in September, 1971, elected Malaysia member of the Preparatory Committee.<sup>147</sup>

In 1970, there were internal rioting against the "Chinese community's economic dominance" and "certain pro-Chinese electoral results".<sup>148</sup> In protest, Tengku Abdul Rahman, who was Prime Minister since

142. Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 493; see also The Europa Year Book, 1984, n.9, Vol.II, pp. 1981-2001.

143. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 609.

144. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 33.

145. Ibid., p. 35.

146. Ibid., p. 43.

147. Ibid., p. 71.

148. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol.II, p. 1761.

independence, resigned and Tun Abdul Razak took his office. He created a National Front comprising of ten (later 13) parties and led the United Malaysia National Organization (UMNO). In March, 1973, Malaysia declared its policy of neutrality and proposed to ASPAC to have a "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality"<sup>149</sup>. Due to differences, Malay withdrew from the Pact.

After Razak's death in January, 1976, Data Hussein bin Onn came to power. With the cooperation of Thailand, he forced 900 communists to surrender, leaving 1,400 still operating in 1987. In 1981, Hussein was succeeded by Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, who was Prime Minister despite many challenges to overthrow him and attempts at abortive coupes.<sup>150</sup> However, Malaysia's Head of State is still a monarch, elected for five years "by and from the hereditary rulers of nine of the States."<sup>150</sup>

In 1984, military cooperation between the United States and China was described by the US Secretary of State, George Shultz, as being "not a threat at all to other parts of Asia"<sup>152</sup>. Kuala Lumpur expressed concern that an economically and militarily strong China "would sooner or later be a military power and pose a threat to the region". The ASEAN countries were the "centre of gravity" and this was the reason only "Washington had been working closely with them and would continue to do so". The United States looks with favour on arms sale to the ASEAN countries. The supply of arms made the South-East Asian countries more aggressive, against which the Malaysians protested. Shultz, explaining the US policy of neo-colonialism, said that "The United States would like to support the efforts of countries in this region to look after their security"<sup>153</sup>.

At present Malaysia votes for "the deposed pro-Chinese regime of Pol Pot in Kampuchea and is criticising Vietnam's assistance to

149. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 493; see also The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 1981-2001.

150. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 1761-62.

151. Ibid., p. 1762.

152. The Times of India (New Delhi), July 12, 1984.

153. Ibid.

Phnom <sup>154</sup>Penh". The country pursues a policy of non-alignment and contributes to decolonization of the colonies<sup>155</sup>.

North Borneo (Sabah) and Borneo (Sarawak) : The northern part of Kalimantan (Borneo) consists of Sarawak (124, 450 sq. km.) and Sabah (73,711 sq. km.), which are states<sup>156</sup> of Malaysia. The Sultanate of Brunei is a British protectorate. The rest of Kalimantan is part of Indonesia. Sarawak is situated in the west and Sabah in the east of Brunei.

In 1841 and 1878, the British occupied Sarawak and Sabah respectively, after concluding treaties with the local chiefs. In 1896, the British formed the Federated Malay States. In 1909, Siam relinquished her sovereignty over Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Kedah, which became known as the Non-Federated Malay States. Johore signed a treaty of Protection with Britain and remained under the Japanese occupation from 1941 to 1945. Later, the British returned and established their colonial rule. They formed the Federation of Malaya in 1948, excluding Singapore.<sup>157</sup>

The idea of independence and non-alignment gained currency, which gave rise to popular revolts by Malays guerillas. As a result, on August 31, 1957, the Federation of Malaysia was proclaimed.<sup>158</sup> In September, 1963, Sabah and Sarawak became fully independent and, joining the Federation of Malaya,<sup>159</sup> with Singapore, formed the Federation of Malaysia.<sup>160</sup> Indonesia intrigued to break the Federation and the Philippines claimed its sovereignty over Sabah. Indonesia and the Philippines broke off relations with Malaysia, and Indonesia launched a "series of military raids into Sarawak and Sabah from Indonesian Borneo".<sup>161</sup> However, after the fall of President Sukarno, a prominent leader of the Non-aligned

154. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 452.

155. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 37.

156. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 450.

157. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 607.

158. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 451.

159. Everyman's United Nations: A Complete Handbook of the Activities of the United Nations During its First Twenty Years, 1945-1965 (New York: UN, Office of the Public Information, 8th edn., March, 1968), p. 386.

160. Ibid.

161. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 607.

Movement, relations between Malaysia and Indonesia improved in 1966. Meanwhile, the ruling party of Singapore, the People's Action Party (PAP) was expelled<sup>162</sup> from the Federation of Malaysia in August, 1965, despite protests from the "island's leaders"<sup>163</sup>.

#### (6) THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines archipelago consists of 7,107 islands. Luzon and Mindano are the largest. Manila, the seat of the Government is situated at the point where routes from Hong Kong, Singapore, Jakarta, Australia and the West Coast of the Americas meet. In earlier times, it was invaded by Indonesians, Malaysians and Spanish and British forces. It became a Spanish colony in the sixteenth century. Supported by USA, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of the revolutionary movement, declared independence of the Philippines on June 12, 1898, but by the Treaty of Paris in the same year, Spain surrendered the islands to the United States. A new constitution, ratified in 1935, envisaged its independence after ten years. It was occupied by Japan from 1942 to 1945, but after the Second World War, US rule was restored. The United States granted independence to the territory on July 4, 1946, with Manuel Roxas as the first President of the Republic. The people protested against the puppet government. "A succession of Presidents, under the control of US economic interests and the Filipino land-owning class, did little to help the peasant majority or to curb disorder and political violence"<sup>164</sup>.

The Island's President Elpidio Quirino hosted the Baguio (Manila) Conference in 1950. During the 1950s, the Philippines was "consistently anti-colonial"<sup>165</sup>. The Philippines, though not a member of the NAM, was admitted to the Colombo NAM Conference as a guest<sup>166</sup> in 1976, and as an observer<sup>167</sup> by the sixth NAM Summit Conference in 1979. The eighth Summit Conference held in Harare in 1986, announced that "admission of the Philippines to the non-aligned movement did not come about apparently

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162. Ibid.

163. Ibid.

164. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 2155.

165. A. Lijphart, 'The Analysis of Bloc Voting in the General Assembly: A Critique and a Proposal', American Political Science Review, 1963, p. 915.

166. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 189.

167. Ibid., p. 401.



because of that country's domestic circumstances (the relation of forces, the presence of American military bases <sup>168</sup> etc.". However, the Philippines has signed the Manila Pact (1955) with Indonesia and pledged to work together for peace and progress in Southern-east Asia. It is an original member of the United Nations since 1945, member of the Colombo Plan and all the UN specialized agencies, with the exception of GATT. <sup>169</sup>

In 1963, the Philippines Government opposed the formation of Malaysia including North Borneo (Sabah) as it claimed Sabah as a part of it. However, Malayan view has always been that it is an issue between the Philippines and Britain.

In November, 1965, Ferdinand Marcos became President and remained in power until 1985, when Presidential elections "put Aquino in the <sup>170</sup> lead". Due to strong pressure from the United States, and little international support, Marcos fled to Hawaii. President Corazon Aquino "received worldwide recognition, including that of the US Government".

During the 1970s, there were three important groups - New People's Army (NPA) - the armed wing of the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which had its influence in the north of the country; the Maro National Liberation Front (MNLF) - a Muslim separatist movement in the south; and KBI or New Society Movement, founded by Marcos in 1970. The National Democratic Front (NDF) - a left-wing group, including the CPP and NPA, was founded in February, 1986. Several attempts by the opposition parties to overthrow Aquino failed in 1986 and 1987. However, Aquino pacified the opposition. Increased NPA activity, "Sparrow" assassination units in urban areas caused arrest of twenty Communists in Manila in February, 1988. Aquino rejected NDF demand for a "power sharing agreement". In September, 1986, the Government declared and in 1987, granted legal and judicial autonomy to "four <sup>171</sup> predominantly Muslim provinces in Mindanao". On January, 1987, the

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168. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 3.

169. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 616; see also for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 226<sup>3</sup>-80.

170. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 2156.

171. Ibid., p. 2157.

MNLF signed an agreement to relinquish demands for complete independence and a sovereign state.

The 1987 constitution prohibits foreign forces in the country after 1991, "except under the provisions of a treaty approved by the Senate and ratified by voters in a referendum"<sup>172</sup>. Under the June, 1983 agreement signed between the Philippines and the United States, the latter was permitted to use Subic Bay naval base and Clark Air base (both on Luzon Island) until 1989. However, the country has become a centre of Russian, US and Chinese interests. The United States "is not going to dismantle the military bases deployed in the Philippines or transfer them to some other place"<sup>173</sup>.

#### (7) VIETNAM

France, by 1884, completed the occupation of the whole country. The peasants revolted against the feudal lords and the French due to their subversive activities. In the meantime, intellectuals, who studied in French universities, founded the Communist Party of Indochina, led by Ho Chi Minh in 1930. The party formed the Viet-Minh Front<sup>174</sup> in May, 1941. Following Japan's surrender in August, 1945, Viet-Minh forces in August entered Hanoi and, on December 2, 1945, proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam<sup>175</sup> (DRV) with Ho Chi Minh as President, USSR and China recognized the DRV.

To restore the colonial regime, France, with the help of British forces, warring against and disarming the Japanese, launched an aggressive war against Vietnam in the south on September 23, 1945, while the reactionary forces of Chiang Kai-shek entered the northern region of Vietnam under the pretext of disarming the Japanese. In March, 1946, French troops re-entered Vietnam and an agreement was signed between Vietnam (DRV) and France to recognize Vietnam as a "Free" state within the French Union. But the DRV continued to press for complete independence,<sup>176</sup> to which France did not agree. As a result, hostilities

172. Ibid.

173. The Indian Express (New Delhi), October 22, 1985.

174. "Revolutionary League for the Independence of Viet-Nam" is known as Viet-Minh"; see The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol.II, p. 3034.

175. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 988.

176. Ibid.

began in December, 1946. France was supported by Britain and the United States in the war against North Vietnam supported by China. In March, 1949, the French established the "State of Viet-Nam in the South"<sup>177</sup>. The trio were defeated at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in May, 1954, and were forced to sign the Geneva Agreement (Indo-China Treaty) on July 22, 1954, which restored peace in Indochina.<sup>178</sup> Against the terms of the Agreement, the French troops concentrated in the South and the People's Army of Vietnam (DRV) in the North, divided by the 17th Parallel,<sup>179</sup> until elections for unification were held in 1956.

The northern region was placed under the authority of the DRV and the southern region under the administration of Emperor Bao Dai. He gave the function of Prime Ministership to US-sponsored Ngo Dinh, who removed Bao Dai and proclaimed the Republic of South Vietnam (RSV) with himself as President.<sup>180</sup> Ngo Dinh became a dictator. To oppose him, various social and religious groups formed the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, called Viet Cong. A guerilla movement led to the formation of the People's National Liberation Army (PNLA) to fight against the US imperialism and, in 1960, a provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam was formed.

The Non-aligned countries observed the situation in Vietnam, which radicalised "the Third World states" and made "stronger statements".<sup>181</sup> The Dar es Salaam meeting of Heads of State or Government held in April, 1970, affirmed its support "for the Vietnamese people's struggle against foreign domination" and called for "immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam as a prerequisite to a peaceful solution of the Vietnamese problem".<sup>182</sup> The participants referred the question of NAM membership of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) to the Third Summit Conference (1970), which was attended

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177. Ibid.

178. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 893; see also for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 2683-96.

179. See for further details The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 3034; see also The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 989.

180. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 893; see also for further details The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 2683-96.

181. Peter Willetts, n. 19, p. 35.

182. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 34.

by the communist South Vietnamese PRG as an observer.<sup>183</sup> The Conference noted that the war of aggression being prolonged in South Vietnam had been extended to Cambodia, and affirmed its "full support for the heroic struggle which the people of the Indochina States continue to wage for freedom and independence".<sup>185</sup> The participants expressed deep concern "at the continuation and the escalation of the war caused by the presence of foreign armed forces especially those of the United States of America in Indochina, resulting in untold suffering, loss of human lives and property to the peoples of the region".<sup>186</sup> The member countries blamed the United States by name for the problem in Vietnam. The Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in August, 1972, expressed deep concern at the "escalation of the war in Vietnam by the resumption of the US bombing of North Vietnam",<sup>187</sup> damage to dykes and dams and untold suffering of the people.

The Viet-US war ended with the defeat of US Air Force and Paris Agreement on January 27, 1973. The Agreement envisaged evacuation of all US troops and established "respect of the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right of self-determination of the South Vietnamese population in order to contribute to the consolidation of peace in Asia and in the world in general".

The Fourth Summit Conference held in September, 1973, called upon its member countries "to give their diplomatic support to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam", recognized it as "the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese population" and gave a call to contribute to "the reconstruction of war-damaged Vietnam".<sup>188</sup> The Lima Ministerial Conference held in August, 1975, warmly hailed "the victory won by the Vietnamese people" and attributed it "a triumph of the non-aligned countries, of socialist countries and of other people in the world who have efficiently supported this just struggle".<sup>189</sup>

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183. Ibid., p. 45.

184. Ibid., p. 46.

185. Ibid., p. 51.

186. 'Resolution on South East Asia', Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 30.

187. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 73.

188. Ibid., p. 95.

189. Ibid., p. 143.

The United States attacked North Vietnam with very strong forces but was defeated and Saigon in the South was liberated by PRG on April 30, 1976. Thus, the US attempt to maintain the division of Vietnam ended when the Saigon forces unconditionally surrendered to the DRV forces and the delegates from both parts held elections for a National Assembly on April 25, 1976, and approved unification of the country and renamed it as Socialist Republic of Vietnam<sup>190</sup> on July 2, 1976<sup>191</sup>.

Vietnam attended as a member the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned countries held in Algiers in May, 1976<sup>192</sup>. The Fifth Summit Conference held at Colombo in August, 1976, acclaimed total victory against "the aggressive United States imperialism", which "ushered in a new era for Vietnam, one of building up a peaceful, independent, united and socialist Vietnam". The Conference called it a "victory of militant solidarity and effective cooperation between the peoples struggling for independence, and freedom and the non-aligned countries". The Conference also "acclaimed the birth of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam" and called upon the "international community to cooperate actively in the reconstruction of the Vietnamese economy, wrecked by the war". The Conference emphasised the implementation of Article 21, Chapter VIII of the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam"<sup>193</sup> signed on January 27, 1973, and recommended the admission of the country to UN membership, in accordance with Resolution 3366 adopted by the UN General Assembly at its 30th Session. It was elected one of the twenty-five members<sup>194</sup> of the Coordinating Bureau also and became member of the United Nations on September 20, 1977.

#### (B) SOUTH ASIA

This region consists of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

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190. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 3034.

191. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.8, p. 893; see also for further details The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 2683-96.

192. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 179.

193. Ibid., p. 199.

194. Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government, Colombo, 16th - 19th August, 1976: Document NAC/CONF.5/S.5; see also Peter Willetts, n. 19, p. 250; see also Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 223.

(1) AFGHANISTAN

In 1893, the British imposed the Durand Line<sup>195</sup> on Afghanistan. Afghanistan won the third and the last war with the British in India and became independent in 1919. As the Soviet Union recognized Afghanistan, the imperialist powers imposed blockade on Moscow, as Britain wanted to have political and economic dominance there. Afghanistan concluded an agreement with the USSR of neutrality and non-aggression in 1931.

During the Second World War, Kabul proclaimed its neutrality<sup>196</sup>, and after the War, it "started a non-alignment policy, developing good relations with all neighbours and strengthening Afghanistani-Soviet relations (economic, technical and arms assistance, particularly for the air force)". The country, ruled by the last King, Muhammad Zahir Shah (1933-1973) was neutral during both the World Wars and "a staunch advocate of non-alignment"<sup>197</sup>. It participated in the Belgrade Conference held in 1961 as one of the founder members of the Non-aligned Movement<sup>198</sup>.

In 1964, a parliament was established and the Government introduced reforms. The clergy and landowning nobility, who were affected by the reforms, led by former Prime Minister, Lt.General Muhammad Daud, overthrew the monarch (King Zahir Shah) on June 17, 1973,<sup>199</sup> and established a republican government. General Daud became Head of State, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defense.

At the meeting of the Preparatory Committee of Non-aligned countries held in Kabul in May, 1973, the Prime Minister, Mohammad Moussa Shafiq, said that they "suffered willingly and considerably from what was called neutrality, which annexed later on to itself the adjective "positive" and what finally emerged was "non-alignment"<sup>200</sup>. It also established closer ties with the Western powers and Iran,

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195. The Europa Year Book, n.9, 1984, Vol.I, pp. 1039-50; see also The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 7; see also UN Chronicle, January, 1984, p. 22.

196. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 19.

197. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 275.

198. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 5.

199. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 154.

200. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 87.

Due to growing repression of progressive forces, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), a Marxist-Leninist organization, staged a coup, known as Great Sour Revolution,<sup>201</sup> took over power on April 27, 1978, installed a National Revolutionary Council, modified the name of the country to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in December, 1978, and signed a treaty of mutual assistance in case of aggression with the Soviet Union. The United States, China and Pakistan supported armed revolts by the big feudal landlords affected by the reforms of new government. In April, 1979, the Government formed a Supreme Defence Council to fight the rebellion. Thousands of refugees fled to Pakistan and Iran.<sup>202</sup>

On September 16, 1979, Nur Mohammed Taraki was replaced by Hafizullah Amin, whose "imposition of rigorous communist policies was unsuccessful".<sup>203</sup> He was killed and replaced by Babrak Karmal, supported by induction of 80,000 Soviet combat troops, which was condemned by NAM which demanded withdrawal of these forces from there. The UN, ASEAN and the Western states and Pakistan demanded establishment of a non-aligned government<sup>204</sup> in the country.

In view of increasing armed counter-revolutionary bands, Karmal, according to Afghanistan-Soviet Agreement (1978), immediately asked the Soviet Union for military assistance, which enraged the imperialist powers and they began to distort the "true character of Soviet assistance" to counter foreign intervention "through the organization, training and arming of counter-revolutionary bands".<sup>205</sup>

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of Non-aligned countries at the New York meeting held in September, 1981, viewing the situation in Afghanistan with great concern, made an urgent call "for a political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops and full respect for the independence, sovereignty

201. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 155.

202. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 275.

203. Ibid.; Amin was accused of plotting to partition Afghanistan with foreign powers; see The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 155.

204. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 156.

205. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 20.

territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Afghanistan and strict observance of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference<sup>206</sup>". They reaffirmed the right of the Afghan people to determine their own destiny free from outside interference and enable<sup>207</sup> the Afghan refugees to return to their homes". The resolution was confirmed by the Seventh Summit Conference<sup>208</sup> held at New Delhi in 1983, by the Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned countries at the Luanda meeting<sup>209</sup> held in September, 1985, by the Coordinating Bureau of Non-aligned countries at its meeting<sup>210</sup> in New Delhi in April, 1986, and by the Harare Summit Conference<sup>211</sup> in September, 1986.

The Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations demanded in nine successive resolutions, between 1980 and 1987, supported by the NAM countries, an "immediate unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops in Afghanistan"<sup>212</sup>. On the other hand, Karmal launched the National Fatherland Front (NFF) including PDPA and other parties, but could not restore peace. As a result, in May, 1986, Dr. Najibullah Ahmadzai, a member of Karmal's Parcham, took over power. In December, 1986, PDPA adopted the policy of reconciliation, which won support from former opponents but the seven party Mujahedin alliance (Ittehad-i-Islami Afghan Mujahedin) "refused to observe the ceasefire or to participate in negotiations"<sup>213</sup>, while they continued to demand "a complete and unconditional Soviet withdrawal"<sup>214</sup>. The Mujahedin guerilla groups, despite presence of 115,000 Soviet troops and sealing of Pakistan border by the Soviet and Afghan forces, received "ever-increasing support" (military and financial, including sophisticated anti-aircraft weapons) from USA, UK and China<sup>215</sup>.

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206. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 547.

207. Ibid.

208. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 91, p. 33.

209. Ibid., p. 184.

210. Ibid., p. 241.

211. Review of International Affairs, n.12, p. 51.

212. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 7; see also The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 276.

213. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 156.

214. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 275.

215. Ibid., p. 276.



Due to famine in parts of Afghanistan, the number of refugees in 1986 in Pakistan increased to 2.5 m - 3 m (living in 380 camps) and in Iran to 1.5 - 2 m. However, in September, 1987, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan and Pakistan met in Geneva under the UN auspices and reached an agreement, which envisages non-interference in each others affairs, Afghan neutrality and return of refugees<sup>216</sup>. In consequence, all of the Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan.

## (2) BANGLADESH

The history of the People's Republic of Bangladesh is linked with the history of India. In 1947, Pakistan had come into existence. The East Pakistan, one of the five provinces of Pakistan, being 1,600 km<sup>217</sup> (1,000 miles) far from West Pakistan, having a population of different languages, cultures, traditions and climates, was almost isolated under remote control from West Pakistan. The declaration of Urdu as an official language caused an outburst in 1952. The Bengalis felt that they were not treated on equal footing but as a colony. This feeling naturally created unrest in the minds of the Bengalis under the influence of Nehru's policy and ideal of self-determination and non-alignment. However, in 1955, due to pressures, East and West parts of Pakistan were given "equal representation in the central legislative assembly"<sup>218</sup>. But discontent continued as the region had insufficient share in the administration, army and development expenditure. The Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman stood for "limitation of the central authority to defence and foreign affairs"<sup>219</sup>. Mujib was arrested in 1966, but released in 1969.

In 1968, Marshal Ayub Khan was replaced by General Muhammed Yahya Khan. The 1970 general elections were won by the Awami League, headed by Mujibur Rehman, with overwhelming majority, securing majority in Pakistan National Assembly, defeating the People's Party of Pakistan (PPP), led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, which had its base in West Pakistan.

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216. Ibid.

217. Ibid., p. 434.

218. Ibid.

219. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 215.

As General Yahya Khan annulled the election result and negotiations on a possible compromise broke down, the Bengalis launched a violent civil disobedience movement against West Pakistan and Mujibur Rehman proclaimed the People's Republic of Bangladesh on March 26, 1971. The Central Government outlawed the Awami League, arrested Rehman and unleashed military repression. The Pakistan army and the Biharis, known as "Razakars" killed about 3 million people and some 10 million fled to neighbouring countries. On April 12, 1971, a Bangladesh government-in-exile was formed in East Bengal, while "Mukti Bahni" fought the Pakistani <sup>220</sup>army for liberation. In August, 1971, Sheikh Mujib was put on trial in West Pakistan. About "9.5 m refugees crossed into India"<sup>221</sup>. On December 7, 1971, India recognised Bangladesh. As a result, war broke out between India and Pakistan. The Indian army supported Bengali fighters while they engaged the Pakistan army in Kashmir, Sind and Punjab. On December 16, Pakistani army surrendered and on December 17, 1971, Bangladesh became a reality. A coalition government was formed under Prime Minister Nurul Amin. In January, 1972, Sheikh Mujib was freed by Pakistan President Bhutto and became Prime Minister of Bangladesh. Bangladesh joined the Commonwealth in April, 1972. A constitution<sup>222</sup> was proclaimed on December 16, 1972.

As the country became member<sup>223</sup> of the Non-aligned Movement joining the Fourth Summit Conference at Algiers in 1973, it was recognised by Pakistan in February, 1974, and was admitted to the United Nations on June 11, 1974. Meanwhile, the government implemented large scale economic and social reforms, which stirred up the rightist groups, whose violence swept the country. In August, 1975, the crisis reached its climax and Mujibur Rehman and his family members were assassinated, which followed a quick change in power and General Ziaur Rehman assumed the presidency on April 21, 1977. He legalised all the political parties but outlawed the Communist Party. In 1972, Zia's Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) "won 207 of the 300 directly elective seats in the Jatiya

220. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 71.

221. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 434.

222. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.8, p. 73; see also The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol. I, pp. 1143-57.

223. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 120.

<sup>224</sup>Sangsad". To stop the guerilla insurgents, known as "Shanti Bahini", a group of a thousand men hiding in forests, threatened execution of tribal leaders and 38 persons were killed<sup>225</sup> in the first half of 1980.

Due to political instability, General Zia was assassinated<sup>226</sup> on May 30, 1981, and his successor, Major General Manzur, was also killed. BNP President Abdus Sattar became President. On March 24, 1982, General Ershad "seized power in a bloodless<sup>227</sup> coup", due to political corruption. He declared martial law and nominated Justice Chowdhary as President. In 1983, the Awami League (15 party alliance), led by Hasina Wajid, daughter of Sheikh Mujib, and BNP (7 party alliance), led by Begum Khalida Zia (widow of General Zia) formed the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), which demanded end of martial law. In November, 1983, Gen. Ershad formed Jana Dal (People's Party) and on December 11, 1983, proclaimed himself President<sup>228</sup>. In September, 1985, National Front (5 party alliance, including Jana Dal) was formed to support Government policies. In 1986, National Front was named Jatiya Dal (National Party). General Ershad decided to hold elections in February, 1988. The opposition parties decided to boycott<sup>229</sup> the proposed poll.

The envoys of Bangladesh and India met at Dhaka on April 14, 1985, while Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi sent a special message to President Ershad. Among the major items of agenda were "the dispute on the sharing of Ganga water, the proposed border fence, the implementation of the 1974 boundary agreement and transit facilities through Bangladesh for the Indian railways"<sup>230</sup>. New Delhi and Dhaka came closer under SAARC, the members of which were also members of the Non-aligned Movement.

Bangladesh, since 1973, participated in all the NAM Summit Conferences and meetings and supported struggles for independence and decolonization. In foreign affairs, it maintains a policy of non-alignment<sup>231</sup>. It has improved its relations with Pakistan, which refused

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224. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 434.

225. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 73.

226. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 216.

227. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 434.

228. Ibid., p. 435.

229. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 436.

230. The Indian Express (New Delhi), April 15, 1985.

231. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 436.

to accept 300,000 Bihari Muslims (who supported Pakistan army in 1971) living in refugee camps in Bangladesh. Its relations with India have been strained over the question of "cross-border terrorism" around the area of Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Ganga River water. Further, India has constructed Farrakka Barrage on Ganga River "depriving Bangladesh of water for irrigation and transport during the dry season"<sup>232</sup>.

### (3) BHUTAN

In 1910, the hereditary king of Bhutan (the Land of the Dragon), first installed in 1907, recognised the influence of Britain in exchange for an annual subsidy of Rs. 100,000. In return, the British undertook "to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan"<sup>133</sup>.

In 1947, when India won independence, Bhutan recognised India's right to "provide guidance" to the Bhutan government and the Bhutanese right of free entry into India under the Friendship Treaty signed on August 8, 1948. According to Article 2 of this Treaty, the Government of India "will not interfere in internal administrative affairs of Bhutan". The Government of Bhutan, on its part, "agrees to its foreign relations"<sup>234</sup>. However, Bhutan is "free to decide whether or not to accept"<sup>235</sup> India's advice. India revised the 1910 treaty and increased the annual subsidy to Rs. 500,000/-.

In 1952, King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk (father of modern Bhutan) assumed power and his brother-in-law, Jigme Dorji, was appointed Prime Minister. They replaced the absolute monarchy by a 150-member Advisory Council (Isogdu). In 1959, when China took over Tibet, Bhutan aligned itself with India. India sent a large number of men for construction of roads and formation of an army and police. It is estimated that 55% of the Bhutanese public administration officials are Indians.<sup>236</sup>

232. Ibid.

233. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 239.

234. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 9, p. 85; see also The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 9, Vol. I, pp. 1178-83.

235. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 500.

236. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 84.

Influenced by the NAM objectives, the Bhutanese launched a movement to liberate Bhutan from absolute monarchy. In 1964, Prime Minister Jigme Dorji was assassinated. The King, seeing national development in other countries, liberated the slaves, established schools, campaigned to eliminate venereal diseases and distributed a large part of his royal lands in national interest. Two attempts of liberation movement to abolish monarchy were frustrated. There was no political party in Bhutan. Bhutan was admitted to the United Nations on September 21, 1971. The King died in July, 1972, and 16-year old Crown Prince, Jigme Singye Wangchuk "formally accepted the Raven Crown, on the Golden Throne of Bhutan"<sup>237</sup> in June, 1974. Bhutan became member of the Non-aligned Movement at the Fourth Summit Conference held at Algiers in September, 1973, and established relations with thirteen countries.<sup>238</sup>

The new King, in 1979, opposed India "during the Non-aligned Conference and later at the UN General Assembly"<sup>239</sup>, favouring Chinese policy. However, being a SAARC member, Bhutan has improved relations with India. In 1985, Bhutan hosted the first SARC meeting which decided to change its name to SAARC.

A high level meeting of Sino-Bhutanese delegation was held in Thimpu between April 2 and 7, 1985, to discuss the boundary between the two countries. The King said that "the delineation of the 500 km border was important, justifying Bhutan's decision to initiate talks with the Chinese"<sup>240</sup>. India is awaiting the outcome because "of Bhutan's location between India and China, and India's strategic interests in the area and also because of India's own unresolved boundary dispute with China"<sup>241</sup>.

#### (4) INDIA

In 1858, Britain gained control of the entire Indian sub-continent restricting the Portuguese presence to Goa. The British created a gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims and continued to exploit India's

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237. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 239.

238. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 120.

239. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 500.

240. The Indian Express (New Delhi), March 31, 1985.

241. Ibid.

resources and wealth. As a result, poverty, disease and unemployment, illiteracy and famine weakened the country. The Indian National Congress (INC), founded in 1885, and the All India Muslim League (AIML), founded in 1906, struggled for independence after the First World War jointly. But, as the Congress and the League failed to work out a common constitution, the British Government introduced the Government of India Act, 1935, which remained in operation until August 15, 1947, when India became independent,<sup>242</sup> within the British Commonwealth.

After independence, Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister. During the course of freedom struggle, Gandhi launched a non-violent non-cooperation method. As Gandhi took the path of appeasement to Muslims, he was assassinated in January, 1948, by a fanatic, Nathu Ram Godse, who belonged to the 'ultra-nationalist organization',<sup>243</sup> Rashtriya Sewak Sangh. On January 26, 1950, a constitution was adopted.

In 1950, France "transferred sovereignty of Chandarnagore"<sup>244</sup> and in October, 1954, with French approval, India "assumed control over French enclaves" - Pondicherry, Karikal and Mahe, and in December, 1961, "by unilateral action the Portuguese enclaves, Goa, Daman and Diu"<sup>245</sup> came under Indian control.

Nehru was the main architect of non-alignment. He thought before Independence that India would play an important role in the international affairs and that he did not like "intermediate position feasible,"<sup>246</sup> shows how his mind was shaping India's foreign policy i.e. that of non-alignment. He did not like India to be a protege of any big power. He wrote: "India could not be a mere hanger-on of any country or group of nations. Her freedom or growth would make a vital difference to Asia and, therefore, to the world".<sup>247</sup> Speaking in the Lok Sabha on December 9, 1958, he said that non-alignment was not 'Nehru policy' and he had not

242. H.V. Hodson, The Great Divide: Britain-India-Pakistan (London: Hutchinson, 1969), pp. 395-97.

243. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 291.

244. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 1332.

245. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 378; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 9, Vol.II, pp. 1676-1709; see also Ibid., 1988, Vol.I, p. 1332.

246. Jawaharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India (New York: John Day & Company, 1946), p. 36.

247. Ibid., p. 368.

originated it, but he had given only voice to that policy "inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the whole mental outlook of India, inherent in the conditioning of the Indian mind during our struggle for freedom, and inherent in the circumstances of the world today"<sup>248</sup>. Though Nehru denied to be being the originator of non-alignment, but, in fact, he was the founding father of this policy. Lord Fenner Brockways says: "Without military or economic power Jawaharlal Nehru created a positive non-alignment movement which is proving to be greater than super powers and is bound to be the creator of the future new world"<sup>249</sup>. The Panch Shila (1954) became the guiding motto of the non-aligned nations. Speaking at the Bandung Conference in 1955, Nehru, elaborating the policy of non-alignment, said: "We do not agree with the communist teachings and we do not agree with the anti-communist teachings. They are both wrong principles. If I join either of the big power groupings, I lose my identity"<sup>250</sup>.

Nehru saw the consequences of group-alliances and external interference in Vietnam, Cambodia and Korea and, therefore, he kept India out of the orbit of big power alliance. On April 6, 1956, at the AICC meeting, he said: "If a country aligned itself with others it would give up the freedom of responsibility"<sup>251</sup>. Thus, Nehru advocated positive approach of non-alignment for freedom "unaffected by any external intervention"<sup>252</sup>, which was "colouring and conditioning the activities of the Great Nations"<sup>253</sup>. Speaking on February 27, 1963, Nehru reaffirmed the policy of non-alignment as "the only just policy and one of the valued assets for India"<sup>254</sup>. Nehru's policy of non-alignment was hailed by newly independent countries of Asia and Africa as "a right course for ensuring peace, security and stability" and even the countries belonging to Power blocs accepted some of its distinguishing features

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248. Lok Sabha Debates, Second Series, Vol. 23 (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1958), December 9, 1958, p. 3961.

249. The Indian Express (New Delhi), November 18, 1980.

250. Barban Thomas, Listener, Vol. 71, No. 18636, B.B.C., June 4, 1964.

251. The Indian Nation (Patna), April 7, 1963.

252. Dr. Akhileshwar Singh, Political Leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1986), p. 212.

253. Lok Sabha Debates, Second Series, Vol. XXXV (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1959), October 25, 1959, p. 1183.

254. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy (Delhi: Publication Division, Government of India, 1961), p. 93. See also Lok Sabha Debates, Third Series, Vol. XIII, February 27, 1963, pp. 1322-23.

like peaceful co-existence. For instance, Soviet Union accepted the principle of "peaceful co-existence" and Yugoslavia accepted it in toto. Nehru, talking on Foreign Affairs in the Lok Sabha, on September 29, 1954, warned that peace could not be secured by threats or by military alliances. He said: "If you reject co-existence, the alternative is war and mutual destruction". The policy of non-alignment led to that of anti-colonialism. As a result, a large number of Afro-Asian nations achieved independence. Thus, Nehru may be called the creator of the 'Third World', pursuing the policy of non-alignment<sup>255</sup>, and leader of the Afro-Asian nations, launching a radical movement for their unity<sup>256</sup>. It is admitted that India's independence was a preface to the independence of all colonial countries of Asia and Africa. Addressing the Asian Relations Conference in March, 1947, Nehru said: "There is today conflict in many countries, and all of us in Asia are full of our own troubles. Nevertheless, the whole spirit and outlook of Asia are peaceful, and the emergence of Asia in world affairs will be a powerful influence for world peace"<sup>257</sup>.

Nehru advocated the cause of the people of Africa also, so that they have a rightful place in the human family. Though he never claimed leadership of the Third World or the non-aligned Afro-Asian countries, he was "their undisputed leader and was happily accepted by them"<sup>258</sup>. Before the death of Nehru in 1964, India had successfully completed three Five-Year Plans and adopted the policy of 'neutrality' and 'non-alignment'. However, since Dalai Lama took refuge in India in 1959, the Indo-Chinese relations worsened<sup>259</sup>.

In 1961, China, under the pretext of a frontier dispute, waged war and seized some 40,000 sq. km. of Indian territory of the eastern border. In 1966, the Soviet Union mediated in the Indo-Pakistan war and both the countries signed the Tashkent Agreement. The first Indo-Pak war was fought on the question of Kashmir, which has a majority of Muslim population and whose Hindu ruler had ceded it to India in 1948.

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255. Dr. Akhileshwar Singh, n. 252, p. 215.

256. Dharidhar Das, 'Historical Destination of Nehru Line of Socialism', Socialist Congressman, (New Delhi), Vol.V, No.1, May 27, 1965.

257. Jawaharlal Nehru, n. 254, p. 251.

258. Dr. Akhileshwar Singh, n. 252, p. 216.

259. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 379.



Shortly after he had signed the Treaty on January 10, 1966, Prime Minister Shastri died suddenly and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, succeeded him.

By 1969, there was a split in the Congress and Morarji Desai led the opposition (Congress-O). In 1971, Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation for twenty years ensured Soviet aid to India and also "blanked off the possibility of Chinese help to Pakistan<sup>260</sup> from across the Himalayas<sup>261</sup>" in case of a war with Pakistan. In the same year, India fought war with Pakistan and recognised Bangladesh. Further, in 1975, the former "protectorate of Sikkim became the 22nd state of the Indian Union"<sup>262</sup>, despite Nepal's opposition. Following the NAM policy, India settled her dispute with Ceylon on territorial waters in Palk Strait (64 km wide) on June 28, 1974, and, to maintain peace, "every year repeated a call for the denuclearization of the Indian Ocean"<sup>263</sup>.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as a Chairperson<sup>264</sup>, played a key role in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. She participated in the Algiers Conference (1973) and hosted the Foreign Ministers Conference of NAM countries in New Delhi (1981). In her keynote address on February 11, 1981, she hailed the far-sightedness of the founding fathers of the Movement, mentioning Nehru, Soekarno, Nasser, Nkrumah and Tito. She said: "Whose freedom is by sufferance and at the will of a superior, he is never free"<sup>266</sup>. She opposed the shelter of the umbrellas and shields of Colonial Powers in the form of neo-colonialism. Referring to the cold war, she said that its thaw was short-lived, but military alliances could lead to armed conflicts. "The Atlantic has polluted not only itself, but also the Pacific and Indian Oceans"<sup>267</sup>. She appealed the US

260. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 378.

261. India Today (New Delhi), November 30, 1984, p. 99.

262. The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol. I, p. 1332.

263. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 378.

264. India Today (New Delhi), November 30, 1984, p. 103.

265. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 120.

266. Ibid., p. 532.

267. Ibid.

and Soviet leaders to avert their nuclear war. She observed that confrontation between the non-aligned nations "are imported from outside and fostered by external forces". Quoting Sarojini Naidu, she said: "True peace is not the peace of negation, not the peace of surrender, not the peace of the coward, not the peace of the dying, not the peace of the dead but the peace militant, dynamic, creative, of the human spirit which <sup>268</sup>exalts".

During the life of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the foreign forces prompted the demand for Khalistan. She crusaded against the separatist movement of the Sikhs. Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated <sup>269</sup>by militant "Sikh members" of her own personal guards on October 31, 1984. Giani Zail Singh remained President. Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister and negotiated terms, but the Sikhs demanded "greater religious recognition", "settlement of grievances over land and water rights" and over the "sharing of the state capital at Chandigarh with Haryana", which demands from a small minority for a separate Sikh state (Khalistan) <sup>270</sup>continues. Their centre of activity was the Golden Temple (Gurudwara), Amritsar. The Government deployed troops, which seized large quantities of arms and ammunition. The militant Sikhs became more active in killing the Hindus <sup>271</sup>and, in 1987, killed about 1,200 people in Punjab.

Rajiv Gandhi is one of the main leaders of the Non-aligned Movement, vehemently supporting independence against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, but his intervention in Sri Lanka, in 1987, to protect Indian Tamilians residing there, on "humanitarian grounds" was critical. However, India is one of the "chief initiators and advocates and is the leading force of the policy of non-alignment" <sup>272</sup>.

#### (5) MALDIVES

In 1887, the archipelago, consisting of more than 1,200 small coral islands (of which 202 are inhabited), 29 grouped in 19 atolls

268. Ibid., p. 533.

269. India Today (New Delhi), November 30, 1984, p. 32.

270. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 1333.

271. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 381.

272. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.8, p. 378.

in the Indian Ocean, 675 km south-west of Sri Lanka, became a British protectorate with internal self-government, as the Sultan (Didi dynasty) signed an agreement and accepted British rule. The Sultanate became elective in 1932. The British built an air base in Gan Atoll. In 1948, London recognized internal autonomy, but retained control over the external relations and defense of the islands. In January, 1953, the Sultanate was abolished and a Republic was proclaimed, but the reactionary forces restored the Sultan to power in February, 1954. In 1956, Maldives allowed the establishment of British air base on Gan and "44.5 ha of Hattadu Island" with free use of Addu lagoon<sup>273</sup>. The people sided with the opposition and demanded total independence. The British suppressed the upheaval and protests and, in 1960, forced on the Maldivians the cession of Gan Atoll for a period of 30 years for maintaining the British air base there<sup>274</sup>.

Maldives gained independence outside the Commonwealth on July 26, 1965, "with Great Britain's retaining property rights acquired by the treaty of 1960, to the atoll of Addu"<sup>275</sup>, where until 1976, a British military base, Gan, was located. According to the criteria for inviting the countries to participate in the NAM conferences and meetings, laid down by the 1969 Belgrade Consultative Meeting, the Tanzanians did not invite Maldives to the Dar es Salaam meeting held in April, 1970, either due to an oversight or "because from 1956 to March, 1976, the U.K. Royal Air Force had a staging post in the island of Gan"<sup>276</sup>. However, after the Maldivian Government obtained the return of Gan Atoll in 1975, and the British forces withdrew from the Island in 1976, the Maldives was admitted to the Non-aligned Movement in the course of the Fifth Summit Conference at Colombo held in October, 1976, and attended the Summit Conferences of the NAM in 1979, 1983 and 1986, besides the

273. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 640.

274. Ibid.

275. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.1, p. 493; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 2006-14.

276. Consultative Meetings of the Non-Aligned Countries (Belgrade: Medunarodna Politika, 1970), Last paragraph.

277. Peter Willetts, n. 19, footnote 53.

278. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.21, p. 189.

279. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 640.

Belgrade Conference (1978) and the Colombo Ministerial Meeting (1979). The Republic of Maldives is one of the smallest member-states of the United Nations since November 29, 1965, and member of the Colombo Plan since 1963.

The Republic opposes the existence of military bases and the US base on Diego Garcia island and supports the proposal to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace for the safety of independence and sovereignty of littoral states. In 1977, the Government "rejected an offer of the USSR to lease Gan for military purpose and in 1981 an international business complex was projected in Gan"<sup>280</sup>. In July, 1978, Maumoon Abdul Gayoom was elected President. He announced that "his main priority would be the development of the poor rural regions, while in foreign affairs the existing policy of non-alignment would continue"<sup>281</sup>.

In 1987, the Republic, a small Muslim state, had diplomatic relations with 74 countries. It is a member of Commonwealth since June, 1985, and a founder-member of SAARC constituted in 1985.

#### (6) NEPAL

After the British occupied Nepal in 1814, the British Governor controlled its foreign policy and prohibited Nepal from maintaining direct relations with other countries. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Ranas seized the throne, supported by the British. They ruled for a century. The Ranas "created the post of hereditary Prime Minister"<sup>282</sup> and the King was like a prisoner. Corruption and power of privileged group were such that they could torture or kill anybody who opposed them. In 1923, Nepal signed a Treaty of Friendship with Britain, which affirmed Nepal's full sovereignty.

The people came to know about the Afro-Asian conferences and declarations in the interest of world peace, international cooperation, independence and a better and more prosperous future. Consequently, a large scale insurgent movement surfaced. The British Governor left Nepal

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280. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 493; see also The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1784.

281. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1784.

282. Ibid., p. 1916.

in 1947, when India became independent. Supported by King Tribhubana, the Nepali Congress Party defeated the Ranas. Nepal had three parties - the King, the Ranas and the NCP. Nehru supported the King. The Rana family and the NCP tried to enter Kathmandu on February 15, 1951. However, after the 1952 elections, a new government took over, which ended the Rana domination.<sup>283</sup> King Tribhubana died on March 13, 1955, and King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah succeeded to the throne.

King Mahendra opened the country to the outside world, modernized the country and eliminated the feudal vestiges, promulgated a constitution "providing for a bicameral Parliament, including a popularly-elected Lower House".<sup>284</sup> There were elections and B.P. Koirala became Prime Minister, Nepal was admitted to the United Nations on December 14, 1959. India and Nepal signed a treaty of friendship in 1950. In December, 1950, Nehru declared "Much as we stand for the independence of Nepal, we cannot allow anything to go wrong in Nepal or permit that barrier to be crossed or weakened, because that would be a risk to our own country".<sup>285</sup> Further, Nepal signed a treaty of peace and friendship with China to settle the frontier problems, in 1960.

Due to differences with Koirala, King Mahendra led a Royal coup and dissolved the Parliament in December, 1960, and in January, 1961, banned all political parties. Nepal participated in the Belgrade NAM Conference in 1961. In 1962, he introduced a "partyless" system of government. He instituted the system of Panchayat, which is based on socialist ideas of democracy and equality. On January 21, 1972, King Mahendra died and was succeeded by his son, Birendra, who established relations with more than fifty countries and "pursued a policy of positive neutrality, non-alignment and struggle against colonialism".<sup>287</sup> Being an active member of the NAM, it established diplomatic relations with eighty-four nations in 1984.<sup>288</sup> However, the new government "failed

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283. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, pp. 665-66.

284. The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol. II, p. 1916.

285. White Paper on Jammu and Kashmir, Government of India, pp.435-36; see also M.M. Rahman, The Politics of Non-Alignment (New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1969), p. 91.

286. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.21, p. 3.

287. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 515.

288. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 540; see also for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 2104-15.

to stem increasing official corruption and economic mismanagement<sup>289</sup>". The government continued to be reshuffled until 1988, when a new Ministry was formed, which tried to end corruption.

Kathmandu's plan, proposed by the King at a NAM conference<sup>290</sup> in February, 1983, was endorsed by ninety countries in 1987 (not including India) for a "zone of peace"<sup>291</sup> in southern Asia. It has diplomatic relations with ninety-nine countries and has a "non-aligned foreign policy"<sup>292</sup>. It is also a member of SAARC, whose Secretariat was established in Kathmandu in 1987.

#### (7) PAKISTAN

The history of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan is related to that of India. The independence flag was hoisted in Pakistan on August 14, 1947. Pakistan became member of the United Nations on September 30, 1947. As a protest against recognition of Bangladesh, which Pakistan, however, recognised<sup>293</sup> in February, 1974, it withdrew from the British Commonwealth in January, 1972. Originally, it had two parts: one in the north-west (West Pakistan) and the other in the north-east (East Pakistan), separated by 1,600 km (1,000 miles) of Indian territory. The East Pakistan became Bangladesh<sup>294</sup> in 1971.

The population of Kashmir was Muslim but the ruler was Hindu, who opted for union with India, followed by the first war, in October, 1947, between India and Pakistan, which resulted in the division of Kashmir between two parts. Since 1949, a ceasefire line has separated Indian and Pakistani forces in Jammu and Kashmir. India and Pakistan both claim their sovereignty on Kashmir as a whole. This question has not yet been settled. As Pakistan did not have substantial resources, it adopted the Western policy, became member of the SEATO and CENTO (now no more), permitted establishment of US bases and encouraged foreign

289. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 1916.

290. Ibid., p. 1917.

291. Ibid.

292. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 667.

293. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 2071.

294. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 798.

investments, to have "international" assistance. In 1956, the Muslim League became a minority political party and an inter-party struggle started, causing instability of the government. In 1956, Pakistan tried to transform itself into a Islamic Republic, renewing membership of the British Commonwealth.

In September, 1958, the port of Gwadar, formerly administered by the Sultanate of Oman (then Muscat and Oman) was ceded to Pakistan. On October 7, 1958, President Iskender Mirza abrogated the constitution, declared martial law, disbanded all political parties. As a result, in 1958, General Mohamed Ayub Khan led a coup, promulgated a constitution and made himself President through a plebiscite.

Peking's anti-Soviet position and Chinese aggression against India brought Pakistan closer to Peking, which developed into military and economic cooperation.<sup>295</sup> In 1965, the second war between India and Pakistan in the Rann of Katch started, which ended on January 10, 1966, after a treaty by Prime Minister Shastri and President Ayub Khan signed in the presence of Prime Minister Kosygin.<sup>296</sup> Continuous agitation forced Ayub Khan to resign in March, 1969, in favour of General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, who due to internal crisis, resigned and was replaced by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). As demanded by the united opposition parties forming a United Democratic Front, an amended constitution came into force in 1973, when Bhutto became Prime Minister. In 1974, there was an outbreak of tribal fighting in Baluchistan, and in 1975, "Pakhtoonistan" separatist movement increased violence in NWFP, supported by Afghanistan.<sup>297</sup> Due to instability and agitation, General Zia-ul-Haq carried out a coup and arrested and hanged Bhutto on April 4, 1979.<sup>298</sup> He suspended the activity of political parties, "imposed press censorship and decreed martial law". He made "several attempts to legitimize his position by elections, but

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295. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 549.

296. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 793.

297. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 2071.

298. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 597; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 9, Vol. II, pp. 2192-2215.

his aims never materialised.<sup>229</sup> However, he realised the sin of joining military pacts and Pakistan left the CENTO at the beginning of 1979, and joined the Non-aligned Movement<sup>300</sup> in September, 1979, at the Sixth Summit Conference held in Havana.<sup>301</sup>

Pakistan provided material assistance to the Afghan refugees<sup>302</sup> in Pakistan and helped their armed attacks against the revolutionary government in Kabul against Soviet intervention in December, 1979. Soviet and Afghan troops attacked the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, numbering 3.2 million, mainly camping in NWFP. This policy has won favour of Washington, which provided economic and military aid in 1980, and supplied F.16 aircrafts, against Indian protests. Pakistan resisted US pressure to sign the treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and said it would "sign the treaty only after India had done so".

In 1982, the opening of Khunjerab Pass on the Karakoram highway linked China and Pakistan. In September, 1986, China and Pakistan signed an agreement in Beijing "for co-operation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy". On the other hand, in 1982, Zia-ul-Haq visited India. Talks between Zia and Rajiv Gandhi in December, 1985, resulted in an agreement that "the two countries would not attack each other's nuclear installation"<sup>303</sup> and pledged to peacefully solve the problem of sovereignty over the disputed Siachin glacier in northern Kashmir.

Zia-ul-Haq died in a plane crash and Benazir Bhutto, elected Chairwoman of PPP in 1986, became Prime Minister in 1988. She has expanded Pakistan's relations with China and the United States, on the one hand, and with India, on the other. Despite relations with the United States, she has maintained a policy of non-alignment.

#### (8) SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka consists of one large island and several much smaller ones, about 80 km (50 miles) east of the southern tip of India.<sup>304</sup> In 1796, the British defeated the Dutch and turned the island into a colony and established colonial administration in 1832. After the First World War, there were revolts and uprisings for independence.

299. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 551.

300. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 2073.

301. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 399.

302. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 2073.

303. Ibid.



After the Second World War, the spirit and struggle for freedom under the influence of the Afro-Asian conferences and statements of Jawaharlal Nehru and other founder members of the Non-aligned Movement became more vital. On the other hand, the War weakened the British colonialism and the British Government in England "began to organize the formal independence of her Asian colonies"<sup>305</sup>. The international situation and wave of neutrality and independence led the country to independence on February 4, 1948, as a parliamentary republic under the British Commonwealth, under the Premiership of D.S. Senanayake, leader of the United National Party (UNP).

Due to split in the UNP in 1951, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) was formed under the leadership of Solomon Bandaranaike, who died in 1951, and was succeeded by his son, Dudley Senanayake. Between 1953 and 1956, the UNP leader, John Kotelawala headed the government. He played a vital role in hosting the Colombo Conference<sup>306</sup> in 1954, and adopted socialism. Later, Premier Bandaranaike nationalized the port of Colombo, cancelled the defence agreement with Britain, took over the British air and naval bases and established a socialist economy. The British instigated the local leaders to overthrow the government to re-establish their neo-colonialism. In September, 1959, a Buddhist monk assassinated Bandaranaike. In 1960, Dudley Senanayake became Prime Minister and, in July, 1960, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, widow of Solomon Bandaranaike, won the premiership.

In September, 1961, Sri Lanka participated in the Belgrade Summit Conference.<sup>307</sup> In 1970, Sirimavo Bandaranaike returned to power and named the country Sri Lanka. Meanwhile, tension between Sinhalese and Tamil communities got increasingly intensified. The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) demanded a Tamil State in the northern and eastern parts of the island.<sup>308</sup>

In July, 1977, Jayawardene became Prime Minister and, later, President, and renamed the country Democratic Socialist Republic of

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305. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 646.

306. See for further details Jyoti Sengupta, Non-Alignment: Search for a Destination (Calcutta: Naya Prokash, 1979), pp. 44-50.

307. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 3.

308. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 2457.

Sri Lanka. In August, 1977, riots occurred between the Sinhalese majority and Tamil (Hindu) minority. The TULF, in August, 1977, demanded "a separate state for Tamils"<sup>309</sup>.

Continuing violence caused the Government to declare emergency in the northern district of Jaffna, "where the Tamils are in majority"<sup>310</sup>. In August, 1980, TULF agreed to the establishment of a District Development Council "providing for a wide measure of regional autonomy"<sup>311</sup>. In 1983, at an All Party Conference, TULF demanded a Tamil State, within "the framework of a United Sri Lanka"<sup>312</sup>, with the amalgamation of northern and eastern provinces. The Sinhalese and the Muslims opposed the proposal. The Tamil militants were based in Tamil Nadu (India). In June, 1985, President Jayawardene and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi met in New Delhi as there was Indian intervention in Sri Lanka<sup>313</sup>. The Government launched an offensive against the militant Tamils, who split into two groups - Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) and Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) or Tamil Tigers.

In a bid to make Sri Lanka leave NAM, the United States gave 83.8 million dollars in 1982, to it apart from normal allocations under PL 480 and US Aid Programme, which "amounted to a greater economic and political dependence on multinational corporations and the US Free Trade Zones"<sup>314</sup>. In consequence, talks with the United States took place with a plan "to convert Trincomalee into an American naval base"<sup>315</sup>. Meanwhile, Pakistan developed relations with Sri Lanka. President Zia-ul-Haq, during his visit to Sri Lanka in December, 1985, "pledged his government's support to the Sri Lankan government's strong-arm policy in dealing with the Tamil insurgents"<sup>316</sup>. However, Sri Lanka has weaned away Muslim Tamils from Hindu Tamils.

309. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 904.

310. The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol. II, p. 2457.

311. Ibid.

312. Ibid., p. 2458.

313. Ibid.; see also The Far East and Australasia, n.1, pp.904-05.

314. Attar Chand, Nonaligned States: A Great Leap Forward (Delhi: UDH Publishers, 1983), p. 275.

315. Ibid.

316. Patriot (New Delhi), April 14, 1986.

Sri Lanka, on joining NAM, bade farewell to the US and Pakistan assistance. On April 16, 1986, Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, A.C.S. Hameed, during a "working lunch" discussion at the NAM Conference in New Delhi, submitted a proposal of his government to India for "resolving the ethnic problem in his country"<sup>317</sup>. An agreement was finally reached in August, 1986. A three-day seminar, organised by the Indian Institute of Non-aligned Studies and inaugurated by Rajiv Gandhi, hailed the Sri Lanka Accord as a "big step forward in the direction of resolving the ethnic issue, achieving permanent peace in Sri Lanka, and of preventing foreign subversive agencies from using the country for their sinister designs"<sup>318</sup>. President Jayawardene said: "The non-aligned movement has many achievements to its credit since its inception over a quarter of a century ago. These include the prevention of a polarised world in which the threat of a nuclear conflict would have been immensely greater than at present"<sup>319</sup>.

In January, 1987, LTTE was able to seize "control of civil administration in Jaffna" and exploded a bomb near Bus Station in Colombo, killing 100 persons. The Government suspended the supply of petroleum to the peninsula and attempted to regain control of Jaffna, the stronghold of LTTE. India "violating Sri Lankan airspace" dropped food and medical supplies in Jaffna. On July 29, 1987, Jayawardene signed an "accord with Rajiv Gandhi, which provided, among others, for keeping an Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) and establishment of Tamil dominated state in the north-eastern and many other terms most favourable to the Tamils"<sup>320</sup>. The Accord was opposed by the Sinhalese, Muslims and even the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. The LTTE defied call for surrender of arms and continued to attack the Sinhalese. In August, 1987, about 7,000<sup>321</sup> Indian troops gained control of Jaffna City and LTTE established new base for guerilla operations.

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317. Ibid.

318. The Times of India (New Delhi), August 11, 1987.

319. Ibid.

320. See for further details of the terms The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 2458.

321. On October 10, 1987, there were Indian troops "between 15,000 and 25,000"; see The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 906.

India continued to intervene to establish peace disturbed by war between the Tamils and Sinhalese. The people of Sri Lanka did not like the Indian intervention in their home affairs and opposition groups, like LTTE, took up arms against the Indian army on their land. The indignation of the people can be assessed from the fact that during a visit to Sri Lanka, Rajiv Gandhi was attacked during the guards of honour ceremony.

(C) AUSTRALASIA

This region includes Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia and Singapore.

(1) BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

Brunei was colonised in 1888 by the British, who, in 1906, appointed a British Resident in the court of the Sultan.<sup>322</sup> In 1948, the British appointed a Governor of Sarawak when an agreement was signed between the Sultan and the British and a constitution adopted made the British responsible for protection of the territory, maintaining its defence and foreign relations. The Belgrade NAM Summit Conference (1961) inspired the people. In 1962, the North Borneo Liberation Army (NBLA), having link with the Brunei People's Party (BPP) launched a rebellion against the proposed entry of Brunei into the Federation of Malaysia, which was suppressed by the British.<sup>323</sup> BPP was banned and its leader, Azhari, went into exile. Meanwhile, Brunei's People's Independent Front (BPIF) demanded constitutional reform to get the country rid of colonial rule. In 1972, the Sultan, Hassanal Bolkiah, and the British signed an agreement which authorised the British "for stationing of a battalion of British Gurkhas in Brunei".<sup>324</sup>

The people, inspired by the Non-aligned Movement and its support for decolonization, struggled for independence. Consequently, according to another treaty, signed on January 7, 1979, the British control of external affairs came to an end on December 31, 1983, and the territory was declared independent between December 31, 1983, and January 1, 1984,<sup>325</sup>

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322. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 249.

323. Ibid., p. 250.

324. Ibid.

325. Keesing's, n. 44, Vol. XXX, March, 1984, p. 32741; see also The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 249.

and was named Brunei Darussalam.

Brunei became a member of the United Nations on September 21, 1984, and of the ASEAN, the Commonwealth and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Brunei is not a member of the Non-aligned Movement.

## (2) INDONESIA

Indonesia includes Sumatra, Irian Jaya (West New Guinea), the Lessar Sundas, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulawesi (Celebes), the Moluccas and Timor, and a group of 13,326 smaller islands in Malay Archipelago.

The Treaty of Lourdes, in 1819, confirmed Indonesia as a Dutch colony. In 1927, rebellion against the foreign rulers broke out and Sukarno founded the National Indonesian Party. During the Second World War, Sukarno accepted a post in the government to assist the guerillas to resist Japanese occupation. As a result, when Japan surrendered, the Indonesian People's Movement proclaimed the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945. Dr. Sukarno, the leader of the nationalist movement since 1920, became President. But soon the United States, Britain, Holland and Portugal started a war among themselves for establishing their occupation of the territory. In December, 1948, the Dutch "captured the entire republican government", while the nationalist forces continued to resist. However, on November 27, 1949, the sovereignty of the United States of Indonesia was recognised and Indonesia was made a federal republic with sixteen constituent regions. Later, the states united and established the unitary Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1950. It became member of the United Nations on September 20, 1950. It is also a member of the ASEAN.

President Sukarno "followed a policy of extreme nationalism" and his "regime became increasingly dictatorial". His foreign policy was "sympathetic" to China, but under his rule, Indonesia "played a leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement".<sup>328</sup> Inspired by political revolutions and policy of neutrality and Non-alignment in Asia,

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326. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 381.

327. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p.431.

328. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 1371.

Indonesia hosted the Bandung Conference in 1955, which had a great impact on the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle of the people in Asia and Africa. The reactionary forces, instigated by foreign powers, started secessionist movement in Sulawesi and Sumatra, which were suppressed. In 1960-61, the West Irian (Netherlands New Guinea or Dutch New Guinea) was under the Dutch occupation. Indonesia claimed her sovereignty over it and it was turned over to Indonesia on May 1, 1963, at Hollandia following a brief period of UN administration. It is now called Irian Jaya.

In September-October, 1965, General Nasution seized power and, in spite of President Sukarno's pleas,<sup>329</sup> the Communist Party of Indonesia was outlawed and more than 100,000 militant Communists were murdered. General Suharto, amidst serious disturbances, overthrew President Sukarno, and encouraged the influx of foreign capital. On the one hand, Indonesia continued to participate in the NAM conferences and made its "foreign policy" as "one of non-alignment",<sup>330</sup> and, on the other, it strengthened its relations with the United States in 1986, when President Ronald Reagan visited Indonesia, and with USSR in 1987, when Edvard Shevardnadze, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited Indonesia while on a tour of South-East Asian states. Despite big powers' attempt to dominate Indonesia's foreign policy, it has maintained its policy of non-alignment. In 1984, Suharto introduced laws "to control all political, social and religious organizations" in order to restrict the growth of extremism.<sup>331</sup> Though fifty signatories to the 'Petition of 50' and Muslims refused to adopt Suharto's Pancasila, he forced all the parties to accept the 'state ideology' in July, 1985.

East Timor : The Portuguese withdrew from East Timor in 1975. In July, 1976, Jakarta Government annexed the colony of East Timor, which became the 27th province of Indonesia, despite opposition of the Fretilin, which demanded independence of East Timor. In 1987, the United Nations refused to recognize "Indonesia's absorption of the territory" and<sup>332</sup>

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329. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 300.

330. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p.1371.

331. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 433.

332. See for further details The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. I, p. 1371.

demanded withdrawal of Indonesian troops. In July, 1987, talks took place between the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), the Governments of Indonesia and Portugal<sup>333</sup> "to determine the future of the area"<sup>334</sup>. However, East Timor is still struggling for independence.

Maluku : In 1970, 30,000 Moluccans in Holland advocated independence for the province of Maluku. At the end of 1979, Indonesia released many political prisoners of Maluku, while the Dutch suppressed the Moluccan activities in Holland. However, Maluku is still struggling for liberation.

The Fifth Summit Conference held in Colombo in 1976, reaffirmed "the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination"<sup>335</sup>. The Sixth Summit Conference<sup>336</sup> held in Havana in 1979, and the Eighth Summit Conference<sup>337</sup> held in Harare in 1986, reiterated the same<sup>338</sup>, and hoped that the region would continue to constitute a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

Irian Jaya : The rebel demand made by Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) for re-unification of Irian Jaya with Papua New Guinea followed a 'major uprising' in May, 1977, which threatened the stability of Suharto's Government. Indonesian troops suppressed the rebellion, which gave indication to the people of Indonesia's expansionist policy<sup>339</sup>. The OPM forcefully resisted and in early 1984, fighting broke out in Jayapura, the capital of Irian Jaya. As a result about 10,000 refugees fled to Papua New Guinea. The OPM rebels attacked the Indonesians crossing the border. Talks between the leaders of Papua New Guinea and Indonesia had failed as the latter's troops crossed into the former in pursuit of OPM rebels. However, the two countries produced a map of border area in 1986 for settlement of their border disputes<sup>340</sup>.

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333. Portugal withdrew from its colony of East Timor in 1975; see Ibid., p.1372.

334. Ibid.

335. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 191.

336. Ibid., p. 418.

337. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 50.

338. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 416.

339. The Far East and Australasia, n. 1, p. 434.

340. Ibid.

South Borneo (Kalimantan): By the beginning of the twentieth century, the British Empire expanded gradually in South-East Asia including Malaya, Sarawak, Labuan, North Borneo, Singapore, Straits-Settlements and other places, while the Dutch occupied Java, Sumatra, a large part of South Borneo, the Celebes and hundreds of islands, large and small.

The Allies won the Second World War in the name of political justice and independence. As a result, after the close of the war, unrest in the Eastern world greatly increased. Two days after the fall of Japan, the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on August 17, 1945. Three-fourths of Kalimantan (539,460 sq. miles) belongs to Indonesia and now Kalimantan is a state of Indonesia together with Bali, Madura, Sumatra, Sulawesi (Celebes), Nusa Tenggara (Lesser Sunda), Maluku (the Moluccas) and Irian Jaya (Western New Guinea<sup>341</sup>).

### (3) SINGAPORE

Singapore is a port on the island of the same name, inclusive of 54 adjacent islets<sup>342</sup>. It is separated from the mainland by the narrow Johore Strait (3/4 miles in width). In 1824, the British bought a part of the island of Singapore from the Sultan of Johore of Malacca and rebuilt the city of Singapore and, in 1826, turned it into a British Crown Colony. In 1942, the Japanese occupied it but the British recovered it after the War and detached it from other Straits Settlements and made it a separate Crown Colony. As an impact of Cold War, wave of independence and anti-colonial movement led by the pioneer NAM leaders, the people demanded liberty. In consequence, the Government, in 1955, adopted a new constitution and granted "some measure of self-government" and, in June, 1959, the country "achieved complete internal self-government"<sup>343</sup> within the British Commonwealth<sup>344</sup>, with Lee Kuan Yew, the Secretary-General of the People's Action Party (PAP) as

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341. See for further details Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 298.

342. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 756.

343. The Europa Year Book, n. 9, Vol. II, p. 2345.

344. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 756.



Prime Minister. Singapore joined the NAM at its Third Summit Conference<sup>345</sup> held in Lusaka in 1970.

As the people, in a plebiscite voted for union with Malay, the UK in September, 1963, forced Singapore to join the Federation of Malaysia<sup>347</sup> with Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah (North Borneo). Due to hostility between Indonesia and Malaya, which excluded the Indonesian shipping from the port of Singapore affecting its interest and, curtailed its political rights greatly, Singapore withdrew from the Federation on August 9, 1965, when the British recognised it as an independent state.<sup>348</sup> It became a member of the United Nations on September 20, 1965, and of UN agencies with the exception of FAO, IDA and GATT. It is a member of the British Commonwealth, the Colombo Plan and ASEAN.<sup>349</sup> In 1976, Britain handed over its air base to Singapore and withdrew its navy also.

Singapore favoured the American military presence in Asia and the Pacific. As a result, the US Pacific Fleet extended its operation all the way into the Indian Ocean. But when the US influence declined due to reduction in arms aid during 1974 and 1975, it adopted a conciliatory attitude towards China and its Communist neighbours, and demanded "the removal of foreign bases" from all the member ASEAN states and "advocated a policy of neutrality"<sup>350</sup> and non-alignment.

Following the principles of NAM, Singapore also supported "the UN decision to continue to recognize the Khmer Rouge government-in-exile" with other ASEAN and NAM nations, and recognized "the anti-Vietnamese tripartite coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" established outside the country. Further, it established diplomatic relations with China in 1982. Forced by Singapore, New Zealand, in 1986, agreed to "withdraw its forces, stationed in Singapore since 1965,

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345. Peter Willetts, n. 19, p. 128.

346. The Far East and Australasia, n.1, p. 607.

347. Ivo Dvorak, n. 68, p. 632.

348. Ibid., p. 633.

349. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 8, p. 756.

350. The Europa Year Book, n.9, Vol. II, p. 2345.

over the next three years<sup>351</sup>". In 1984, Lee Kuan Yew expressed his intention to retire as Prime Minister in 1988, when he proposed a racist proposal for reform in electoral system mainly to undermine the opposition.

Singapore first participated in the informal meeting<sup>352</sup> of Foreign Ministers of NAM held on September 27, 1969, and its Dar es Salaam Conference on April 13-17, 1970, the Third Summit Conference<sup>353</sup> held at Lusaka in 1970, Georgetown Conference in 1972 and continued to take active part in the NAM activities. It attended also the Harare Summit Conference<sup>354</sup> in 1986.

### CONCLUSION

Afghanistan became independent in 1919, while Indonesia became independent on August 17, 1945, the Philippines on July 4, 1946, India on August 15, 1947, Pakistan on August 14, 1947, Burma on January 4, 1948, Sri Lanka on February 4, 1948, (Korea was divided into PDRK and Republic of Korea in 1948), Kampuchea on November 9, 1953, Bhutan and Nepal had signed peace treaties with India. Thus, of the eighteen countries of the region, all became independent, and joined the Non-aligned Movement (except the Philippines and Brunei Darussalam). Burma, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Indonesia joined the Non-aligned Movement in 1961, Laos in 1964, Malaysia and Singapore in 1970, Vietnam, Bangladesh and Bhutan in 1973, Korea (PDR) and Maldives in 1976, and Pakistan in 1979. Thus, it may be observed that the objectives and declarations of NAM caused independence and many newly independent nations joined the Movement, increasing its strength.

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351. Ibid.

352. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 21, p. 31.

353. Ibid., p. 33.

354. Ibid., p. 45.

355. Review of International Affairs, n. 12, p. 37.

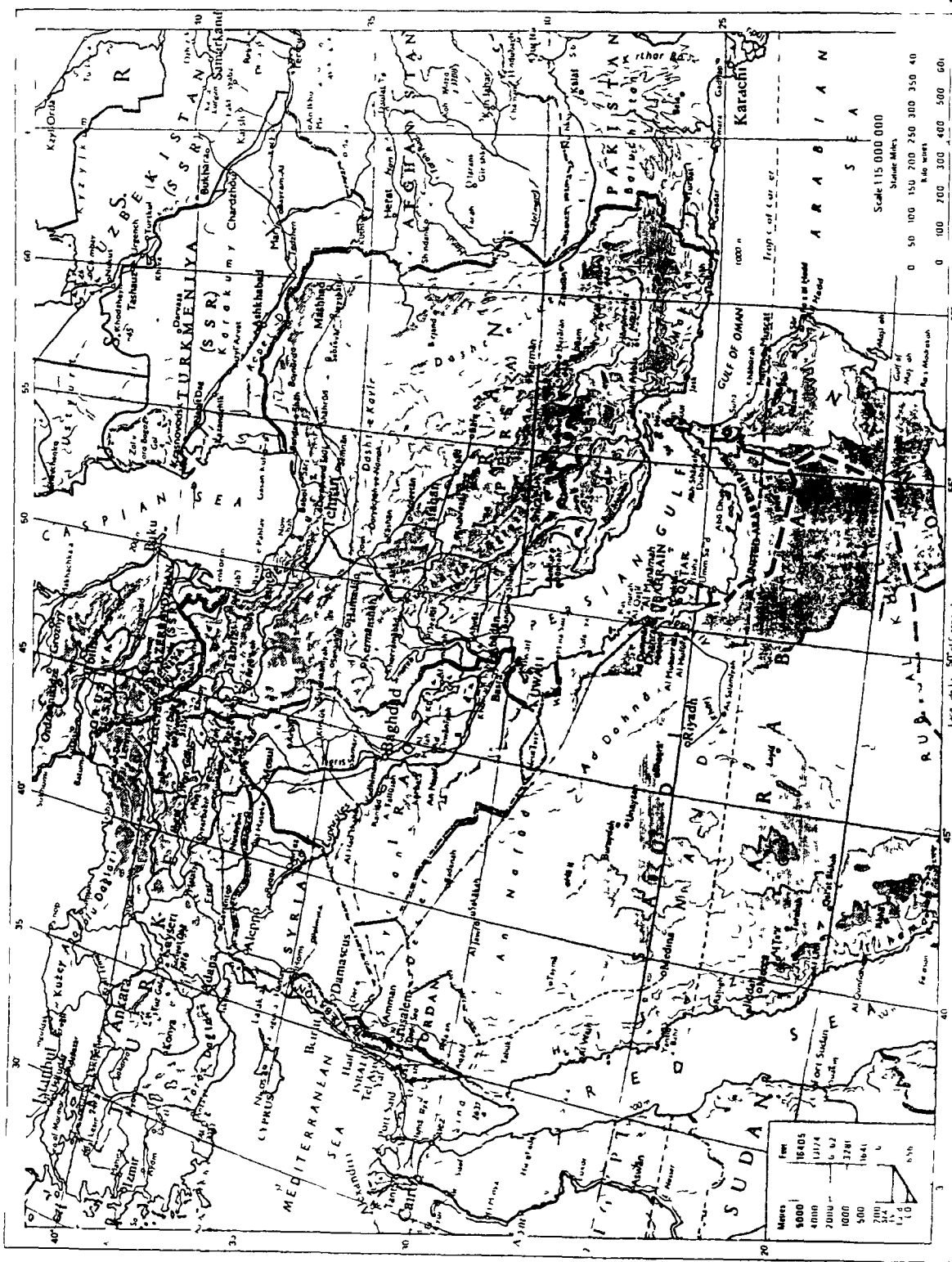
The boundaries of countries in this map are shown as they were in 1960. They are not necessarily the same as the boundaries of the countries in 1960. They are not necessarily the same as the boundaries of the countries in 1960.

BOUNDARIES

CU I OICTION

The map is based on a set of maps of the area in 1960. They are not necessarily the same as the boundaries of the countries in 1960. They are not necessarily the same as the boundaries of the countries in 1960.

# WEST ASIA



## CHAPTER IV

### NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

The Western states of the Middle East make the boundary line between Asia and Europe. The important and powerful nations of Europe - Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and Spain were the Colonial Powers, who have now adopted the policy of neo-colonialism. The colonies under these Administering Powers have gained independence and their resources have become limited within their own spheres. Britain is the leading nation of Europe. After 1945, she lost the status of a big power and accorded freedom and autonomy to many of her colonies, but by having their membership of the British Commonwealth, she has maintained her prestige. On the one hand, she entered into alliances like NATO, SEATO and CENTO, for her protection and established close relations with USA and, on the other, it secured membership of E.E.C. on January 1, 1973, and is not hostile towards USSR and Communist China. Her relations with France are not cordial. While Britain supports NATO, France, under the De Gaulle policy of non-cooperation withdrew from it.

The second group of nations in Europe is that of members of the Warsaw Pact (1955), consisting of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Rumania, USSR and Czechoslovakia, which are all Communist-oriented countries.

The third group of European nations is that which consists of countries which are members of the Non-aligned Movement, such as, Cyprus, Malta and Yugoslavia.

The cold war conflict, arms race and competition of expansion of areas of influence between the United States and USSR caused pacts, aggression and intervention. Inception of economic plans i.e. US Marshal Plan and Soviet Molotov Plan, made the European countries conscious of Super Power politics leading to neo-colonialism in one form or the other. The weak nations, to save themselves from domination by Big Powers joined the Non-aligned Movement. The Warsaw Pact signatories adopt soft attitude towards them. Turkey is in the process of strengthening her internal and external resources.

The United States, with the assistance of its allies i.e. the developed European nations, attempts to establish military and nuclear bases in the Middle East and North Africa while the eastern and western European nations are demanding dismantling of US and Soviet nuclear missiles and warheads stored for defence purpose, which are, however, under the process of destruction and disarmament. The supply of military equipment by the United States and Europe to Iran and by the Soviet Union to Iraq was against international peace. Further, the supply of arms to insurgents and guerilla forces in the North African countries has also worsened their good relations. The Non-aligned Movement demands international peace, peaceful co-existence and decolonization.

North Africa has been taken up with the Middle East as it has geographically, politically, economically and culturally close relations with the latter. Further, Cyprus, Malta and Yugoslavia have also been included in this study to have a better understanding of the circumstances and political changes due to which the subject nations gained freedom and joined the Non-aligned Movement and gave immense support to the NAM objectives of decolonization in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Oceans. A brief description of countries of the Middle East, North Africa and others which are NAM members is given below:

#### (A) THE MIDDLE EAST

This region consists of Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, UAE, YAP and PDRY.

##### (1) BAHRAIN

Bahrain consists of a group of 35 islands<sup>1</sup>, 24 km (15 miles) from the east coast of Saudi Arabia and 28 km (17 miles) from the west coast of Qatar. In 1925, petrol was found here. Bahrain (or Aval<sup>2</sup> and Al-muharraq are the main islands.

In 1861, Bahrain favoured British protection. In 1913, the British and the Ottoman Empire signed a convention acknowledging Bahrain's independence, but the island continued to remain under British administration<sup>2</sup>. In 1935, the establishment of British military base in the Gulf

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1. The islands are Muharraq, Sitras, Nabih Salih, Jeddah, Hawar, Umm Nassan, Umm Suban, Manama is the port and capital; see The Middle East and North Africa, 1988 (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 34th edn.), p. 300.

2. Ibid.

provoked many protests in the form of street demonstrations, mostly in the capital. The wave of emancipation and struggle against the colonial rule during the years, 1914 and 1951, resulted in the workers' strike in 1951, and a popular uprising in 1956, mainly due to the British exploitation causing critical economic situation. The uprisings were brutally suppressed by the British<sup>3</sup>. The nationalist group demanded, among others, general elections for a Constituent Assembly and freedom to form trade unions, which were ignored by the ruler.

The Cairo NAM Conference (1964) condemned the imperialist policy<sup>4</sup> in Aden, which inspired the people against the British. In 1965, a mass public demonstration was indiscriminately suppressed. The National Progressive Front of Bahrain (NPF<sup>5</sup>) started armed struggle and initiated a campaign of civil disobedience. As a repressive measure, the Government passed a so-called General Security Law, which empowered the Sheikh to arrest, imprison and banish any person without trial. Pressed by the insurgents, the British withdrew their 4,000 troops from the strategic air base (Muharraq), the naval base (Jufair<sup>6</sup>) and army base (Humala) and asked the Emirates to form a federation, joining Qatar and the Trucial States (now UAE), which were also under the British protection. But Qatar seceded and Bahrain proclaimed independence<sup>5</sup> on August 15, 1971. Bahrain was admitted to the United Nations<sup>6</sup> on September 21, 1971, and joined the Arab League on September 11, 1971. Bahrain revoked the military treaties with Britain and became member of the Non-aligned Movement joining its Georgetown Conference<sup>7</sup> (1972) and Algiers Conference<sup>8</sup> (1973). In May, 1970, Iran accepted the UN findings that "popular opinions overwhelmingly favoured independence rather than union with Iran"<sup>9</sup>.

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3. Ivo Dvorak, The Non-Aligned Countries (London: Harney and Jones Limited, 1982), p.64.
  4. Two Decades of Non-Alignment: Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1983), p.19.
  5. The Europa Year Book, 1988: A World Survey (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1989), Vol. I, n. 425.
  6. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements (London: Taylor and Francis, 1985), n. 65.
  7. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 69.
  8. Ibid., p. 120.
  9. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 300.

In 1974, the US-Bahraini treaty, permitting US military base in Bahrain, was massively opposed. The Government reacted by restricting civil rights leading to large scale arrests and dismissals. However, popular opposition against the US military air base in Juffair continued.

After independence, Sheikh Isa took the title of Amir and Sheikh Khalifa became Prime Minister. In 1972, a new constitution provided for a National Assembly. In 1975, the Assembly was dissolved and elections were promised, but there are no signs of this. As a result, the "ruling family has almost absolute powers"<sup>10</sup>, who dominate in Bahrain, are in a minority and are opposed by the Shi'ite majority (60%), supported by Iran. The latter planned coups to overthrow the Bahraini Government.<sup>11</sup> The Shah renounced his claim over Bahrain in 1975.

Bahrain provides an onshore "facility" for the presence of large US navy forces, for which, in September, 1987, President Reagan expressed gratitude to Sheikh Isa, and agreed to supply F-16 aircraft to Bahrain. Bahrain and Qatar have disputes on the question of sovereignty over Zubara (on mainland Qatar), Hawar Island and Fasht ad-Dibāl.<sup>12</sup>

## (2) IRAN

The Anglo-Russian Convention (1907) divided the country into British and Russian zones of influence, leaving a neutral zone. Following the October, 1917 Revolution, Russia withdrew its forces from Iran. In 1921, Iran cancelled the Anglo-Iranian Agreement (1919), which empowered Britain to control public administration with the possibility of establishing a protectorate over the country.<sup>13</sup> Iran became member of the League of Nations in 1919, but withdrew in 1939. In 1925, Reza Khan deposed the ruler, Ahmad Shah Kajar and, in 1935, changed the historical name of Persia to Iran.<sup>14</sup>

Iran's claim of Bahrain created great tension between Iran and the Arab countries, particularly Saudi Arabia. Iran proclaimed its

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10. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 425.

11. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, n. 301.

12. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. I, n. 425.

13. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 309.

14. Ibid., n. 310.

neutrality<sup>15</sup> during the Second World War, but collaborated with the Third Reich.<sup>16</sup> The Soviet and British forces entered into Iran and the Emperor, Reza Shah Pahlavi fled into exile and died in South Africa. His son, Mohammad Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, took over power on September 18, 1941, and declared war on Germany in 1943. When the War ended, there were 30,000 American troops in Iran. From then, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi came under the American influence. At the Tehran Conference (November 28-December 1, 1943), the US, Britain and Soviet governments recognised Iran's support in the War against Germany and decided to grant it independence. As a result, in 1945-46, the British and Soviet troops withdrew. Though in May, 1946, the Soviet forces evacuated the country, continued to exert its pressure through "the Communist Tudeh Party, the democratic movement in Azerbaizhan, and the Kurdish autonomy movement"<sup>17</sup>. Iran became member of the United Nations on October 24, 1945. It also became a member of the Colombo Plan and OPEC.

In 1946, a Soviet-Persian Company was authorised to exploit the oil in the northern province, and, in 1947, the Truman Doctrine established American military mission in Iran. The people vigorously opposed the scandalous concessions and economic privileges granted to foreign capital and restrictions placed on political liberty. The US's growing military presence and exploitation of petroleum wealth by foreigners caused an upsurge of a strong anti-imperialist movement, which led to an attempt to assassinate the Shah. The National Front, founded by Mossadeqh, demanded free elections, freedom of press and lifting of emergency, and swept the elections to the Mejlis (National Consultative Assembly). The National Front demanded recovery of the petroleum wealth from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC) also. The Shah, to counter the nationalist trend, appointed General Ali Razmara, as Prime Minister, a noted pro-British person, who, later, had a serious conflict with the United States and was assassinated in 1951, and Hussein Ala, who was pro-US, became Premier. He proclaimed emergency. Despite Ala's opposition, AIOC was nationalized. Ala resigned and Mossadeqh became Prime Minister in April, 1951. The United States and Britain declared an economic

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15. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 421; see also for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, pp. 1728-41.

16. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. I, p. 1392.

17. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 385.



boycott of Iran. In March, 1953, Kermit Roosevelt, a CIA official, carried out 'Ajax' operation and overthrew Mossadegh with massive US aid.<sup>28</sup>

In 1964, the exile of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini<sup>19</sup> and others, who opposed Shah's 'White Revolution' provoked a wide-spread revolt, which resulted in assassination of Premier Mansur<sup>20</sup> on January 21, 1965, by Khomeini's men (Fedayan Islam). The disturbances continued until the Shah fled from Iran on January 17, 1979, and Ayatollah Khomeini returned from Paris to Tehran and was designated as Mehdi Bazargan.

On November 4, 1979, Iranian students took over US embassy in Tehran and took as hostage fifty-two American diplomats, offering to release them on the condition that USA extradite the deposed Shah who was receiving medical treatment in New York. In the same month, Iran cancelled "Iran-Soviet Friendship Treaty of 1921", which gave the Soviet Union the right to intervene militarily in case of aggression of Iran; and also annulled "Iran-USA Friendship Treaty in 1959".<sup>21</sup> The Shah left the United States and settled on a Panamanian island. Iran applied to Panama for his extradition in January, 1980. The Shah died on July 27, 1980, in Cairo.

In 1969, a dispute arose with Iraq over the estuary of Shatt al Arab, which gained intensity, and Iran denounced the 1937 treaty with Iraq, which defined the rights of navigation in the frontier region. Further, in June, 1969, Iran claimed sovereignty over a group of islands in the Arabian-Persian Gulf, Abou Moussa and the Great and Small Tombs, which belonged to the UAE members - Ras al Khaimah and Sharjah respectively, over which Iraq established its military outposts. This provoked a war between Iran and Iraq.<sup>22</sup> The war ended in 1988.

Since relations between Iran and the United States deteriorated, Iran withdrew from CENTO and proclaimed the Islamic Republic of Iran on

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18. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. I, p. 1392.

19. Khomeini went to France after 14 years of exile in Iraq; see The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. I, p. 1392.

20. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 386.

21. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 421.

22. "The war began after Iran ignored Iraqi demands for the withdrawal of Iranian forces from Zain ul-Qos, in Dilai province on the border between the two countries", as under 1975 agreement between them, the territory was to be returned to Iraq. Hence, Iraq abrogated 1975 Shatt al-Arab agreement and invaded Iran on September 2, 1980; see The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 388; see also The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol.I, pp. 1392-94.

April 1, 1979, and joined the NAM at the Havana Summit Conference<sup>23</sup> in 1979.

On April 24-25, 1980, US air force launched an abortive attempt to free the hostages. On January 20, 1981, the hostages returned home.

The New York meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Heads of delegation of Non-aligned Countries in October, 1982, recalled the New Delhi Declaration<sup>24</sup> that "no State should acquire or occupy territories by the use of force, that whatever territories had been acquired in this way should be returned, that no act of aggression should be committed against any State, that the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of all States should be respected, that no State should try to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of other States, and that all differences or claims which may exist between States should be settled by peaceful means in order that peaceful relations should prevail among member States"<sup>25</sup>. It expressed deep concern over the "intensification of hostilities in the armed conflict between two member countries of the Movement, Iran and Iraq". The members appealed to both parties to "refrain from any action which would further escalate the conflict"<sup>26</sup>.

### (3) IRAQ

In 1920, Iraq came under colonial control of the British as a League of Nations mandate.<sup>27</sup> Popular demonstrations from 1918 to 1945 continued against the British domination, while the monarchy<sup>28</sup> was controlled by them.<sup>29</sup> General Nuri as Said, Prime Minister, who remained in power for twenty-eight years, supported Iraq's friendship with the United Kingdom and the West and a 25-year Anglo-Iraqi treaty was signed in 1930. The British mandate ended on October 3, 1932, when Iraq became fully independent.<sup>30</sup>

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23. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 401.

24. Ibid., p. 510.

25. Ibid., p. 597.

26. Ibid., pp. 597-98; see for Report of the NAM on Iran-Iraq Conflict, Ibid., p. 606.

27. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 1411.

28. See for further details about Hashemite Kingdoms in Iraq and Transjordan, Ibid.

29. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 422; see also The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, pp. 1742-55.

30. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. I, p. 1411.

During the Second World War, the British wanted to use Iraq for pursuit of war. The Anglo-Iraqi alliance<sup>31</sup> was opposed. In 1943, despite nationalist opposition, Iraq declared war against the Axis Powers and, in 1945, established relations with the Soviet Union and became member of the United Nations on October 24, 1945, and also member of the Arab League the same year.

In 1955, the Baghdad Pact was signed, which later expanded into CENTO, against possible threat from the USSR<sup>32</sup>. Iraq participated in the Arab-Israeli war in 1948-49. In July, 1958, a military movement overthrew the monarchy, executed the Royal family, including King Faisal-II, Prince Abd al-Ilah and General Nuri (the pro-West) and proclaimed the Republic of Iraq on July 14, 1958<sup>33</sup>, and announced the withdrawal of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact in March, 1959, opposed by Pan-Arabs, Kurds and other groups. Soon the facilities used by the British Royal Air Force at the Habbaniya base was closed.

From 1959 to 1968, the CIA was involved in creating disturbances in the country. Egyptian Union (United Arab Republic) with Iraq existed from May 25, 1964, until July, 1968<sup>34</sup>. In 1969, the Kurds, to get legitimate rights of their national identity, "launched a civil war with the assistance of Shah of Iran and under guidance of the CIA"<sup>35</sup> to overthrow the BAATH government. The northern part of Iraq had 2 million Kurds. The Kurdish leader, Barzani was defeated by the Iraqi army. However, the 1974 Autonomy Act (March 11) laid the foundation of Kurdistan<sup>36</sup>, which has its own legislative and executive councils.

In 1972, Iraq signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union and nationalised the Petroleum Company. Iraq, supporting the Palestinians's right, sent its troops on the Syrian front in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. On March 20, 1973, armed conflicts between Iraqi troops

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31. According to this agreement, the British evacuated the airbases at Shuaiba and Habbanya, but retained their hold by creating a "joint board" for the coordination of all matters relating to mutual defense"; see The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 422.

32. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 1411.

33. Ibid.

34. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 422.

35. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 332.

36. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 423.

and Kuwaiti borderguards in the Arabian Gulf erupted. Iraq claims from Kuwait a coastal strip adjacent to Umm Kasr and the islands of Bubiayan and Warb. It concluded a treaty with CMEA, in 1975, and became member of the Arab Monetary Fund in 1976. In July, 1979, Saddam Hussein was appointed President of the Republic and Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) and General Secretary of the BAATH Party. President Hussein, in February, 1980, announced his 'National Charter', and<sup>37</sup> reaffirmed the principle of non-alignment.

Since the British had left in 1971, the islands of Great and Small Tombs and Abou Moussa in the Gulf were occupied by Iran. In April, 1980, Iraq claimed her sovereignty over these islands and demanded withdrawal of Iranian forces. Earlier, in March, 1975, Iraq and Iran had signed at Algiers an agreement defining the "southern border between the two countries as a line along with middle of the Shatt al-Arab waterway",<sup>38</sup> but, later, Iraq increasingly became dissatisfied. Prior to 1975, Iran was supporting rebellion of Kurds in northern Iraq, and Iraq was supporting the "Arab demands for autonomy in Iran's Khuzestan region (named 'Arabistan' by Arabs)"<sup>39</sup>. However, squabbling between the two countries was aggravated in the summer of 1980. On September 20, 1980, Iraq denounced the Algiers Agreement, accusing Iran of violations of its national territory in the estuary of Shatt al-Arab. On September 2, 1980, large scale fighting erupted between the two countries, which lasted until 1988. During the war, while Iran-US relations worsened and Iraq received assistance from the USSR, Israeli bombs, on June 7, 1981, destroyed Iraq's French built nuclear reactor 'OSIRA' in the southeast of Baghdad.<sup>40</sup>

The Ministerial meeting of the NAM held in New York (1982) noted the efforts of the Coordinating Bureau to end the Iran-Iraq war.<sup>41</sup> The New Delhi Conference (1983) considered the report of the Group (Foreign Ministers of Cuba, India and Zambia and PLO), appointed by NAM Foreign Ministers Conference held in Delhi (1981) to implement the principles of Non-alignment to end the conflict.<sup>42</sup> The Conference resolved: "Iran

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37. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 1411.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 422.

41. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 606.

42. Ibid.

and Iraq are both members of the Non-aligned Movement, which has amongst the principles that all differences amongst member States should be resolved by peaceful means<sup>43</sup>". The participants appealed to Iran and Iraq to "bring an immediate end to the war" and to "come to an honourable, just and enduring peace through negotiations and peaceful means"<sup>44</sup>". the NAM Foreign Ministers meeting at Luanda (1985) observed that efforts of the Chairman of the Movement and President of the Conference "to find as an alternative and acceptable statement to both parties, proved to be of no avail"<sup>45</sup>". However, there was an overwhelming sentiment among the members for "an immediate end to this fratricidal conflict"<sup>46</sup>". The Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau held in New Delhi (1986) reiterated the New Delhi (1983) resolution<sup>47</sup>, while the representatives of Iran and Iraq<sup>48</sup> accused each other, as no settlement between the belligerents could be made. The Harare Conference (1986) expressed profound concern at the continuation of Iran-Iraq conflict and asked them to "cease hostilities forthwith in order to avoid further loss of life and damage to property"<sup>49</sup>".

However, after heavy and irreparable loss of property and about one million lives on both sides, Iran, on July 18, 1988, unconditionally, without any major force or pressure accepted the UN Security Council resolution<sup>50</sup> 598 of July 20, 1987, which called for a ceasefire<sup>51</sup>, to end the war. Saddam Hussein had already offered his acceptance on July 20, 1987, to it. The Security Council hoped that the war would come to an end within ten days and Saddam Hussein urged that there should be a "complete and comprehensive unconditional withdrawal"<sup>52</sup>.

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43. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement: Documents of the Gatherings of the Nonaligned Countries, 1983-1986, Vol.II (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1986), p.258.
44. Ibid., p. 258.
45. Ibid., p. 223.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p. 258.
48. Ibid., pp. 287-89.
49. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXXVII, No. 875, September 20, 1986, p. 51.
50. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 430.
51. The Times of India (New Delhi), July 19, 1988.
52. Ibid.

(4) JORDAN

In 1920, formerly under the Turkish Empire, Palestine and Trans-jordan, with Abdullah as Emir, were placed under the British administration by the League of Nations. The Emir's troops fought with the Allies during the Second World War. Transjordan, separated from Palestine in 1923, became independent<sup>53</sup> on March 22, 1946, when the British mandate ended, and took the name of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in June, 1946. In 1948, Jordan joined war against Israel and annexed the West Bank and concluded an armistice<sup>54</sup> with Israel in 1949. As Abdullah had secret negotiations<sup>55</sup> with Israel, he was assassinated on July 20, 1951, by a Palestinian<sup>56</sup>. He was succeeded by his son Talal, who ceded the Crown to his son Hussein ibn Talal. Hussein is the longest ruling head of the Arab state since March, 1956. In 1957, he crushed a military revolt against him.

In February, 1958, Syria and Egypt formed the United Arab Republic, but Jordan snapped relations with Egypt and joined union with Iraq,<sup>57</sup> which ended with the fall of monarchy in Iraq. In 1967, Jordan signed treaties with Egypt and Syria. In the third war with Israel, Jordan lost to Israel a part of Jerusalem, the West Bank of Jordan River and more than 400,000<sup>58</sup> refugees were driven into the West Bank of the Jordan River, which became centre of Palestinian Arab nationalism "with the aim of recovering the homeland"<sup>59</sup> from where the Fedayeen made attacks on Israeli territory. Their principal guerilla organization was Al-Fatah in the Gaza Strip, then under Egypt. In May-June, 1964, in the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem, PLO, under Yasser Arafat (Chairman) was founded, which threatened the Jordanian sovereignty over the West Bank. The PLO organized the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA). In March, 1972, Hussein formed the Arab National Union (ANU) and banned all other political parties.

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53. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. I, n. 1552.

54. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, n. 436; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, pp. 1829-38.

55. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 355.

56. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1552.

57. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 494.

58. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol.I, n. 1552. 400,000 Arab residents had already evacuated Palestine before May, 1948.

59. Ibid.

In spite of an agreement with PLO, Jordan favoured the Reagan Plan, a US project to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict, which was opposed by the Palestinian forces and by different Arab countries. As a result, Jordan launched a military campaign between September 17 and 27, 1970, against the Palestinian refugees in the Jordanian territory killing more than 200,000 people. The Egyptians intervened and a ceasefire was arranged with the signing of Cairo and Amman Agreements. The events of 'Black September' isolated Jordan from the Arab community. Due to his anti-Palestinian policy, several plots against the King were hatched and suppressed. Jordan's ties with the United States got further strengthened and Jordan received large quantity of arms and aircrafts from the United States. In August, 1979, Yassir Arafat and King Hussein met at Mafrag (Jordan) and formed a joint Jordanian-Palestinian Supreme Committee to examine problems of Israeli-occupied territories. King Hussein opposed the Camp David Accords, favoured the Baghdad resolutions and imposed sanctions against Egypt. As a result, relations between Jordan and Egypt deteriorated.

The Managua Ministerial Meeting of NAM noted that "parts of Syria, Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon remain occupied"<sup>60</sup>. In 1982-84, King Hussein participated in international talks on the Peres Plan<sup>61</sup> for peace in the Middle East<sup>62</sup>. Jordan resumed diplomatic relations with Egypt in September, 1984, severed in 1979. In 1984, there was a split in the Arab world. The "moderate body of opinion" was formed by 'Jordan, Egypt and Arafat's wing of the PLO', and the radical group included Syria, Libya and the rebel wing<sup>63</sup> of the PLO.

Owing to King Hussein's "harsh criticism of US policy in the Middle East" and Arafat's opposition to Israel, Reagan cancelled arms supply to Jordan. However, under a treaty, Jordan received arms supply from USSR in January, 1985. As the Jordanian-PLO peace initiative failed, King Hussein severed political relations with PLO on February 19, 1986, and agreed to Israeli terms for direct talks and secured limited autonomy for Palestinian community on the West Bank<sup>64</sup>.

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60. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 43, p. 9.

61. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 499.

62. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 436.

63. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 1553.

64. Ibid.

(5) KUWAIT

Kuwait comprises the mainland and nine small islands; Rubyan is is the largest but Failaka is most populous. In 1716, the British East India Company laid the foundation of Kuwait and, in 1956, the Al Sabah dynasty assumed the rule of the territory with British support. The British made it a centre to erode the Turkish position. In 1896, Sheikh Mabarek Al Sabah, having confrontation with the Ottoman Empire, assumed power with British protection. In 1899, the British recognised its independence with the condition that it would not establish relations with any other foreign power without their consent, and controlled its external affairs. Thus, Kuwait became a virtual self-governing British protectorate.<sup>65</sup> In 1913, through a pact with the Sheikh, the British controlled Kuwait's petroleum. In 1934, the Kuwait Oil Company began to exploit petroleum. Between 1945 and 1954, the production of petrol rose from 6 million to 246 million barrels while the sale and profits were made by foreign companies alone. However, the fabulous gains produced an influential bourgeoisie, while the immigrant workers demanded improvement in their living conditions and lesser dependence on imperialist powers - the United States and the United Kingdom.<sup>66</sup>

In 1960, Sheikh Abdallah Salem Al Sabah founded the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and became member of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC). Due to popular revolt demanding revision of the 1899 treaty, under the influence of the Movement of Non-aligned countries against colonialism and neo-colonialism, Britain granted sovereignty<sup>67</sup> to Kuwait on June 19, 1961.

Kuwait joined the Arab League in July, 1961, despite opposition of Iraq, which claimed sovereignty over Kuwait,<sup>68</sup> and began to pursue its own foreign policy. Since Iraq had "claims on Kuwait", Iraqi troops,<sup>69</sup> soon after independence, occupied a Kuwaiti outpost. "Since then, substantial donations to Iraq have ensured Kuwait's territorial security".<sup>70</sup>

65. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 1644.

66. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 389.

67. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol.II, p. 1644.

68. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 521.

69. Peter Willetts, The Non-Aligned Movement: The Origins of a Third World Alliance (Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt.Ltd., 1978), p. 227.

70. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1644.



In 1963, Kuwait established relations with the Soviet Union and was admitted to the United Nations on May 14, 1963. Later, it established relations with socialist countries<sup>71</sup> - Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania. It joined the Movement of the Non-aligned countries at its Cairo Summit Conference<sup>72</sup> (1964) and became its active member. Being a member of the Coordinating Bureau<sup>73</sup>, it "participates in the work of the Movement's Coordination Bureau"<sup>74</sup>. Kuwait supports the Palestinian cause<sup>75</sup> and assists the developing countries. It has relations with developed countries also. However, Kuwait following the policy of non-alignment, cooperates with the NAM countries and has evolved a defence system "independent of any super power"<sup>76</sup>.

In 1969, the Neutral Zone (Partitioned Zone) between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia was formally divided between the two countries and the revenue from petroleum production is shared equally<sup>77</sup>. In 1974, Kuwait nationalized 60% of oil production (gas and energy companies) and used it as an economic weapon against pro-Israel Western countries by reducing production, introducing embargo on supplies to the United States and the Netherlands and by taking the decision on a 70% rise in petroleum price. Kuwait, at the Baghdad Conference of the Arab League, in November, 1978, called upon its members to condemn the Camp David Accords and imposed sanctions against Egypt.

The Algiers meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-aligned countries held in March, 1974, appreciated Kuwait's decision "to raise the capital of the Kuwaiti Fund for Arab Economic Development from \$ 600 million to \$ 3000 million" for assisting the "developing countries in their plans and projects of economic development"<sup>78</sup>. The Bureau decided to set up an Inter-government Committee of Experts to draft the constitution and regulations of the Fund.

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71. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 391.

72. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.

73. Ibid., p. 288.

74. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 391.

75. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, n. 1644.

76. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 448.

77. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 1644.

78. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 126.

In the Iran-Iraq War, Kuwait gave substantial aid to Iraq since its outbreak in September, 1980. Iran bombed Kuwaiti oil installations and shipping in the Gulf. In August, 1987, as the Shia Muslims organizations - al-Jihad al-Islami (Islamic Holy War) having connection with ad-Dawa al-Islamiya (Islamic Voice) forced a Kuwaiti airliner to land in Iran and bombed Kuwaiti oil refinery at Mina al-Ahmadi. The Amir expatriated 27,000 Shias to Iran for safety purposes.<sup>79</sup> Kuwait closed its main off-shore oil-loading terminal at Sea Island between October and December, 1987, due to Iranian Chinese-made surface-to-surface missile attack. Kuwait exported oil under UN, US, UK and Soviet protection. It resumed diplomatic relations with Egypt and President Mubarak offered "military support in return for economic aid".<sup>80</sup>

Between October, 1986 and April, 1987, "15 ships bound to or from Kuwait were attacked in the Gulf by Iran".<sup>81</sup> In 1987, Kuwait's application to the United Nations for use of UN flag on its oil tankers was opposed by the United States and the Soviet Union. Iran charged that Kuwaiti port was used by Iraq for transporting military equipment destined for Iraq. Iran deployed "Silkworm" anti-ship missiles at the entrance to the Strait of Hormuz and on the Faw Peninsula, and stationed "Suicide Squads" (high-speed launches) on several islands. Iraq received help for clearing mines from Saudi Arabia and the United States. On July 24, 1987, the first of the eleven tankers, registered by the United States and under US flag struck a mine in the Gulf, 30 km off from Farsi island.<sup>82</sup>

#### (6) LEBANON

In 1920, France created the state of Greater Lebanon.<sup>83</sup> In April, 1920, the League of Nations conference in San Remo gave a mandate to France over Syria and Lebanon and, in 1926, it became a state under French domination. Between 1920 and 1936, Syrian movement, supported by some sections of Sunni Muslims, demanded "reduction of Lebanon to its pre-war limits and even the abolition of its existence as a separate

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79. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 1644.

80. Ibid.

81. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 524.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., p. 546.

state" while the Maronite Christians demanded "a separate Lebanon"<sup>84</sup>. On November 26, 1941, Lebanon was declared "a sovereign independent state" by General Charles de Gaulle in appreciation of the support given to French troops stationed in Lebanon. However, a republic was formally proclaimed on November 11, 1943, when the French troops were withdrawn<sup>85</sup> and full autonomy was granted in January, 1944<sup>86</sup>. It became a member of the United Nations on October 24, 1945, and is a Founding member of the Arab League.

The Israelis aided the Rightist group, which formed the National Front (National and Phalangist Parties) to seize power while Leftist group (Progressive forces) and the Palestinians resisted their move, which initiated a civil war, heavy damages and mass emigration. In the South, thousands of Palestinian refugees, settled in 1948, involved Lebanon in Arab-Israel war, in which the country "never participated actively"<sup>87</sup>. However, Lebanon joined the Arabs and boycotted Israel. In May, 1955, Lebanon and Jordan accused Egypt "of subversive action in which intervention of the Arab League failed to help"<sup>88</sup>. Since the President, Camille Chamoun, adopted pro-Western policy, while the Muslims favoured the Arab nationalism, the Muslim and Christian forces began a civil war. On the request of the President, the US troops (10,000) landed and maintained peace.

The Non-aligned countries played an important role in cultivating world opinion against the US intervention in Lebanon in 1958. The Security Council on June 1, 1958, appointed a UN Observer Group (UNOGIL), which started its operation in Beirut. The United States, considering the UNOGIL insufficient, sent its navy to Lebanon on July 15, 1958, which created a crisis. The NAM countries in and outside the United Nations

84. Ibid. .

85. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 468; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, pp. 1911-25; see also UN Chronicle, March, 1984, pp. 18-25.

86. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1669.

87. Ibid.

88. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 468.

strongly condemned the US action. Consequently, the United States "pulled out its troops from Lebanon" on October 25, 1959, and the UNOGIL mission ended on December 19, 1959.

Lebanon participated in NAM Belgrade Summit Conference<sup>89</sup> (1961) and its Cairo Conference<sup>90</sup> (1964). The Cairo Conference, considering the problems of divided nations, pledged itself "to respect frontiers as they existed when the States gained independence" and asserted that "parts of territories taken away by occupying powers or converted into autonomous bases for their own benefit at the time of independence must be given back to the country concerned"<sup>91</sup>. At the New York informal meeting of Foreign Ministers, Lebanon took active part. The participants decided to "exert joint efforts with a view to promoting mutual cooperation" on issues to be considered by the General Assembly. At the Dar es Salaam meeting (1970), Lebanon joined the participants in demanding the implementation of the 'Declaration on Decolonization'<sup>93</sup>.

In June, 1967, Lebanon sided with the Arab countries against Israel and concluded several agreements with PLO, founded<sup>94</sup> in Beirut in 1964. In December, 1968, Israel bombed civil airport in Beirut in retaliation for its protection to PLO guerilla forces and Palestinian military bases and actions. Israel invaded Lebanese border regions several times during 1969-80, against which Lebanon lodged complaint in the UN Security Council, which "unanimously condemned Israel for the raid"<sup>95</sup>.

The Third Summit Conference held in Lusaka (1970), taking into consideration the UN Security Council resolution, called for "immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory" and expressed "deep concern because of the frequent Israeli aggression against Lebanese territory"<sup>96</sup>.

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89. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 5.

90. Ibid., p. 17.

91. Ibid., p. 21.

92. Ibid., p. 31.

93. Ibid., p. 35.

94. Event of mid-1982 caused the removal of PLO from Beirut to Tunisia.

95. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 549.

96. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 59.

The division in Lebanon cabinet, in 1971, on the question of support to the Palestinian Fedayeen (martyrs) led to the downfall of the Government in 1973. Further, expulsion of the Fedayeen from Jordan and their influx in Lebanon, Palestinian camps (Left Wing) intensified war against Phalangist Party - Maronite Christian Group (Right Wing) in 1974. In 1976, the 'Green Berets' restored peace, but the Nationalist Front opposed the Green Berets and stepped up military activities. The Rightists wanted partition of the country. In 1976, the Arab League created an Arab Deterrent Force (ADF)<sup>97</sup>. The UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFL) also arrived. Hazbollah viewed UNIFL "as an obstacle to the pursuit of war against Israel"<sup>98</sup>. Due to failure of the Rightists, Israel invaded Lebanon in 1978, with 30,000 troops and occupied one-fifth of Lebanese territory, indiscriminately massacred the Palestinian and the Lebanese population, who fought many battles but all in vain.

The Coordinating Bureau of the NAM (Algiers, 1976) appealed to all the conflicting parties "to cease their fratricidal situation in Lebanon" and affirmed "the unity, territorial integrity and independence of non-aligned Lebanon". The Bureau laid the responsibility for "solution of the Lebanese crisis"<sup>99</sup> with the Lebanese themselves. Under the UN and world popular pressure created by the Non-aligned Movement, Israelis withdrew, leaving a strip of land, 800 sq. km. in the south under the control of the Rightist militias which harassed the people and defied the Beirut Government. This uncalled for 1978 Israeli aggression left 250,000 persons displaced, 35,000 homes destroyed, 10,810 made orphans, 36,000 children without school and 75,000 families requiring social assistance.<sup>100</sup>

The Coordinating Bureau (Havana, 1978) observed that this Israeli invasion aimed at "occupying Lebanese territory by destroying Lebanese villages and cities, compelling Lebanese citizens to leave their homes and land, and crushing Palestinian resistance"<sup>101</sup>. The Bureau also demanded

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97. ADF dissolved between December, 1982, and April, 1983, after shifting of PLO to Tunisia.

98. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, n. 1672.

99. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 181.

100. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 410.

101. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, n. 276.

immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 425, and called upon the Security Council to adopt mandatory measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Further, the Ministerial Conference of NAM (Belgrade, 1978) condemned Israel's "procrastination in withdrawal from some positions it still occupies<sup>102</sup>".

Despite fifty ceasefire agreements, and Arab and Western powers' mediation, the Arab-Israeli war went on until 1979. Maj. Haddad (Right Wing), with Israeli support, declared "an area of 1,800 sq. km. (700 sq. miles) in the south of the country to be "independent free Lebanon"<sup>103</sup>, while the Phalangist militia dominated eastern Beirut. In 1982, Israeli forces surrounded the Muslim populated area in the west which had 6,000 PLO fighters. However, the Reagan envoy in Beirut in late August secured an agreement and the PLO fighters dispersed in the Arab countries. The Coordinating Bureau (Havana, 1982) urged the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435/79 and welcomed its resolution 510/82 and urged all states to render support to UNIFIL.<sup>104</sup>

In May, 1983, the US Secretary of State, George Shultz, helped in signing an agreement<sup>105</sup>, which declared the end of hostilities and withdrawal of all foreign forces from Beirut in three months. Syria refused to accept the agreement and allowed 7,000 PLO fighters to encamp in the Beka'a Valley and northern Lebanon. As a result, the Israelis employed the Haddad militia - South Lebanon Army (SLA) to police the partitioned country in the south. The Coordinating Bureau (Managua, 1983) observed that Israel "has reached the peak of imperialism and racism through its occupation of a part of Lebanon and its acts of aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and the execution of massacres of the Palestinian people"<sup>106</sup>. The Seventh Summit Conference (New Delhi, 1983) further condemned the "crimes perpetrated by the Israeli forces, such as killing and destruction in Lebanon."<sup>107</sup>

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102. Ibid., p. 333.

103. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1670.

104. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 566.

105. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1670.

106. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 43, p. 5.

107. Ibid., p. 30.

Meanwhile, as the PLO wanted to control Fatah, the Syrian-backed rebels forced Arafat to leave Tripoli.<sup>108</sup> On February 29, 1984, a French proposal to establish a UN Force in Beirut "was vetoed by the USSR in the UN Security Council".<sup>109</sup> However, in 1985, Israeli forces withdrew from the south and Syrian forces from the north. In 1986, the PLO re-emerged around Tyre, Sidon and Beka'a Valley, taking this action according to 1969 agreement between PLO and Lebanon. The Lebanese Government in May, 1987, to remove any doubt of protection, annulled the agreement. Factional differences continued in 1988.

The New York meeting (1984), reiterating the earlier decisions, noted that Israel continued to occupy Southern Lebanon, western Beka'a and Qada Rashyla and adopted inhuman practices contrary to the Fourth Geneva Agreement (1949). It expressed regret that one of the Permanent members used negative vote against draft resolution (S/16732) submitted by Lebanon before the UN Security Council.<sup>110</sup> The Foreign Ministers meeting (Luanda, 1985), reiterating the earlier decisions, denounced the continued US support and "its collusion with Israel in the strategic alliance against the people and States of the region", commended the abrogation of 17 May 1983 Accord (dissolved in March, 1984) and demanded the implementation of Security Council resolutions 425 and 426 of 1978 and 508 and 509 of 1982.<sup>111</sup> The Coordinating Bureau (New Delhi, 1986) reiterated the earlier decisions.<sup>112</sup> The Eighth Summit Conference (Harare, 1986) also reiterated the earlier resolutions.<sup>113</sup>

Since, prior to 1918, Lebanon was a part of Syria and formed a single customs area until 1950, the two nations have retained historical links with each other and do not exchange formal ambassadors. However, Lebanese have rejected the plan of a "Greater Syria", because Lebanon has a large minority (43%) of Christians who do not want to be ruled wholly by the Syrian Muslims.<sup>114</sup> In Lebanon, Muslims constitute 57% of the

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108. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 1670.

109. UN Chronicle, March, 1984, pp. 18-25.

110. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 43, p. 117.

111. Ibid., p. 182.

112. Ibid., pp. 245-46.

113. Review of International Affairs, n. 52, pp. 54-55.

114. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1669. There is a convention that the President will be Christian, Prime Minister will be Sunni Muslim and President of the National Assembly a Shia Muslim, as a result "attempts to form national parties have met with little success"; see Ibid.

population, 10% of which are Palestinian refugees, and Shia Muslims are 1.2 million.

(7) OMAN

In the seventeenth century, Oman was called the Pearl of Islam, whose fleet of 300 ships expelled Portugal in 1744. In 1861, it was divided into two different dominions. The first included Zanzibar and East Africa, and the other Muscat and Oman. According to custom, an Imam was elected to rule the country. In 1884, Imamate and Sultanate were separated due to internal conflict. Due to dispute within the Royal family, the British gained power and bestowed title of Sultan on the rulers. In 1913, the Ghaffiris and Hinawis elected Salim Ibn Rashid as Imam, who opposed the Sultan of Oman and Muscat, a tool in the hands of the British.<sup>115</sup> The British supported the Sultan, and the 1920 Agreement, between the Imam and the Sultan, recognised Sultan's authority over the whole territory. But the dispute about the attributes of the Imamate persisted.

After the Second World War, Nehru's call of decolonization and freedom roused the people who fought unitedly to overthrow the British. The British, being too weak to face the rising wave of nationalism, granted independence to the Sultanate, officially called "Muscat and Oman",<sup>116</sup> by a treaty of friendship on December 20, 1951, which retained the British officers in the armed forces and in the police.<sup>117</sup> Thus, they adopted a policy of neo-colonialism.

Between 1952 and 1957, there were uprisings against the British control over the petroleum products.<sup>118</sup> The Sultan's forces, assisted by the British, crushed the insurgents. The British dominated the country and the Arab world opposed this open interventionism. At the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly, the NAM group supported complete independence of Oman, but the British representative opposed the proposal. During 1960s, the British stepped up repression of nationalist forces.

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115. The Europeans had initiated a custom of bestowing the title of Sultan on the rulers of the coast; see Ivo Dvorak, n.3, p. 543.

116. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 642.

117. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 2060.

118. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 543.



In October, 1960, ten Arab States, all NAM supporters, at the United Nations "accused Great Britain that its colonial presence in Oman prevented the people from exercising their rights of self-determination"<sup>119</sup>. The people's demonstration against the British became intense when, in 1962, the British and American corporations began to exploit petroleum, while the people of Oman remained poor and educationally backward. The British repressive measures added fuel to the fire. The Cairo Conference (1964) condemned "the continued armed action waged by British colonialism against the people of Oman", who were "fighting to attain their freedom"<sup>120</sup>. In June, 1965, the Omani people rose in arms against the feudal regime in Dhofar Province and the Front Liberation of Occupied Arabian Gulf (FLOAG), organised in the interior and coastal areas, attacked the British air base at Salalah in August and September, 1969. As FLOAG was supported by PDRY, relations between Oman and PDRY deteriorated. Oman was supported by the United States, the United Kingdom, PDRY and USSR. However, the conflict between PDRY (South Yemen) "ended with a normalization agreement in 1982"<sup>121</sup>. Tension between the two countries increased due to Sultan Qaboos's pact with the United States in June, 1980, whereby Oman allowed "the use of US forces of Masirah Island, off the east coast of Oman" in exchange for US military and economic aid and US commitment to Oman's security<sup>122</sup>.

To maintain control over oil, the United States pressed Iran to occupy the British air bases, but Iran could not do so due to a secret defence treaty with Oman. Meanwhile, Prince Qaboos, who was studying at the military academy at Sandhurst, was bribed by the British. On July 23, 1970, Sultan Said Ibn Taimure was deposed by his son, Qaboos bin Said in Salalah with tacit British approval (strongly denied<sup>123</sup> by London). The FLOAG launched a guerilla war against Sultan Qaboos Ibn Said Ibn Taimure, who employed more British officers and, aided by Iran with helicopter gunships and special British troops, launched an offensive against the FLOAG in 1971.

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119. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p.581; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, pp.2185-91.

120. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 19.

121. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 581.

122. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 2060.

123. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 642.

Sultan Qaboos joined the Algiers Conference of the NAM (1973)<sup>124</sup> and his representative attended its conferences and meetings regularly. Oman was admitted to the United Nations on October 7, 1971, even though FLOAG was struggling for independence. The FLOAG, in 1974, was renamed as Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO). In 1975, the Government claimed liquidation of PFLO. Iranian troops withdrew and the British evacuated Masira Island in 1977. The Egyptians occupied the positions abandoned by the Iranians since Oman had supported the Camp David Accords. In 1985, Oman established relations with NATO countries and received fighter-aircrafts. Despite links with the United States, Oman established relations with its neighbouring Arab countries and also established diplomatic relations with the USSR due to resumption of good relations<sup>125</sup> with PDRY.

#### (8) PALESTINE

The Zionist Congress in 1897, in Basel (Switzerland) demanded for the first time the State of Israel in Palestine. After the First World War, France and Britain divided the Ottoman Empire between themselves by signing the Sykes-Picot Pact in 1916. The Jews<sup>126</sup>, who had helped Britain during the War and were demanding a Jewish homeland in 1917, obtained from Britain the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1918, which "officially supported"<sup>127</sup> a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Palestine became a "place of head-on-clash between the Arabs and Israel creating the Arab nationalism and political Zionism"<sup>128</sup>.

Britain, in 1921, "formed the emirate of Transjordan from the Western part of Palestine"<sup>129</sup>. The influx of Jewish immigrants from the whole world to Palestine caused Arab-Jewish conflict in 1936-39. However, the "cultural advancement and the cooperative habits of the Jews and their organising capacity"<sup>130</sup> created a worldwide sympathy for them.

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124. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 120.

125. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 2060.

126. M.G. Gupta, Encyclopedia of Contemporary International Affairs, (Agra: Y.K. Publishers, 1987), Vol. 2, n. 175.

127. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 425.

128. M.G. Gupta, n. 126, p. 174.

129. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 426.

130. M.G. Gupta, n. 126, p. 175.

The Palestinian's protest has been continuing since April, 1920, to the present day. During 1936 and 1939, about 50,000 Palestinians perished as the Jews launched terrorism. The Palestinians claim "an immediate stop of Jewish immigration"<sup>131</sup>, a prohibition of transfer of Arab lands to the Jews and the establishment of a democratic government.

In April, 1947, the United Nations Commission recommended partition of the country. By that time, the Jewish population, which was 8% of the population, had risen as high as 33% of the population. According to the UN resolution, the region was divided into three zones - the centre (56% of the total area of Palestine) as Jewish homeland (14,942 sq. km.); the rest as the Palestine State (11,203 sq. km.) and Jerusalem and its vicinity as an 'international zone' under the UN administration (177 sq.km.). On November 29, 1947, the partition became effective. The founding of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, and the very next day the First Arab-Israeli War began. Israel signed armistice agreements with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria which enabled her to penetrate and expand its control over 80% (20,700 sq. km.) of the Palestinian territory. Later, the Israelis occupied the Western Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip under Egypt, drove the Palestinian people and adopted an aggressive and expansionist policy.

To resist the Israeli attacks, Yasser Arafat formed Al Fatah in February, 1957. In January, 1964, Arab countries met in Cairo and formed a Palestine Resistance Organization. The General Palestine Congress, held in Jerusalem from May 31 to June 2, 1964, drew up a National Charter and founded the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Al Assifa, the military wing of Al Fatah, carried out its first armed action against Israel on January 1, 1965. In February, 1969, the PLC Chairman, Ahmed Shukairi (pro-Saudi) was replaced by Yasser Arafat. Between 1965 and 1970, about 2,265 armed attacks were carried out by Israel. These aggressive wars, since 1948, included "the invasion of Egypt jointly by France and Great Britain in 1956 ...., the war of 1967, when Israel expanded its domination to the territories of Gaza, the West Bank and the Golan Heights belonging to Syria, as well as to the greater part of Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, the fourth war waged in 1973 and the

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131. Persecution of Jews after 1933 in Germany, Poland and Rumania and Hitler's encouragement of emigration of Jews to Palestine with a view to create problem to the British, caused influx of Jews in Palestine; see Ibid.

invasion of southern Lebanon<sup>132</sup> in 1978". Some 680,000 registered Palestinian refugees have been housed in sixty-one camps in Jordan, Gaza, the West Bank, Syria and Lebanon, who are only a fraction of the actual number of Palestinians who had left the country. On the occupied territory of the West Bank, the Israelis have established more than 150 Jewish settlements. There are about 4,390,000 Palestinians in exile.

The Dar es Salaam Conference of the NAM (1970) called for the "withdrawal of Israeli troops from all territories" occupied since 1967, and compliance with precepts of UN Charter; restoration of the usurped homeland to the Palestinians and return of the refugees. They supported the Palestinian struggle for liberation against colonialism and racism and condemned Israeli repression and settlements. Necessary resolutions have been adopted at the various conferences of the Non-aligned Movement supporting the rights of the Palestinians and condemning Israeli aggression. The Fourth Summit Conference (Algiers, 1973) noted the Zionists' "systematic uprooting of the Palestinian people from their homeland, thus, threatening Palestinian national survival"<sup>133</sup>. The Conference encouraged the oppressed nations for armed struggle for their right to self-determination and independence in view of the tenacity of the colonial powers including the NATO powers. The Havana Coordinating Bureau (1975) laid down two principles for a just and lasting peace: (1) Unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied since June 5, 1967; and (2) The exercise by the Palestine people of all their national rights including their right to return to their country and to their self-determination"<sup>134</sup>. The Lima Ministerial Conference (1975) reaffirmed "the legality of the struggle of the Palestine people for the restoration of their national rights"<sup>135</sup>. The Algiers Coordinating Bureau (1976), reiterating the earlier decisions, condemned the Zionist policy "to alter the status and the religious, social, ethnic and economic character of the occupied territories, more specifically of the Holy City of Jerusalem"<sup>136</sup>. The Fifth Summit Conference (Colombo, 1976) reiterated the earlier decisions<sup>137</sup>.

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132. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 557.

133. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, n. 109.

134. Ibid., p. 132.

135. Ibid., p. 166.

136. Ibid., p. 180.

137. Ibid., p. 198.

The Conference condemned Israel for its refusal to accept General Assembly resolutions of 29th and 40th sessions, especially Resolution 3236 and the 1949 Geneva Convention, as well as the steps to Judaize the cities of Jerusalem.<sup>138</sup> The Belgrade Foreign Ministers Conference (1978) reiterated the earlier decisions.<sup>139</sup>

Meanwhile, Egypt-Israel conflict ended with the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1979. In June, 1982, Israel started "Operation Peace for Gallilee" against the PLO-bases in Lebanon". According to Damascus agreement signed on November 25, 1983, Arafat's PLO troops withdrew from Lebanon.

The Seventh Summit Conference (New Delhi, 1983) reiterated the earlier decisions.<sup>140</sup> The New York meeting (1984) called for speedy implementation of the UN General Assembly resolution 38/58 C of December 13, 1983, and condemned US assistance to Israel.<sup>141</sup> The Luanda Foreign Ministers Conference (1985), the New Delhi Coordinating Bureau meeting (1986), the New Delhi Ministerial meeting (1986) and the Harare Summit Conference (1986) reiterated the earlier decisions.<sup>142</sup>  
<sup>143</sup>  
<sup>144</sup>  
<sup>145</sup>

A seven-member<sup>146</sup> resolution, deploring the Israeli suppression of Palestinian uprising killing 500 and injuring 50,000, was vetoed even by the Bush Administration at the UN Security Council on February 18, 1989. While the representatives of India, the Soviet Union and China greatly deplored the Israeli illegal occupation of Palestinian land in contravention of the Geneva Convention, the US Envoy charging the PLO fighters as a "terrorist group" said that "if the Security Council is to play a positive role in this process, it will not be through adopted of unbalanced resolutions criticising the actions of one side to the dispute".<sup>147</sup>

138 Ibid., n. 230.

139. Ibid., pp. 346-47.

140. Twentyfive Years of the Non-aligned Movement, n. 43, p. 28.

141. Ibid., p. 116.

142. Ibid., p. 117.

143. Ibid., p. 180.

144. Ibid., p. 227.

145. Review of International Affairs, n. 52, pp. 51 and 53.

146. Colombia, Ethiopia, Malaysia, Nepal, Senegal, Yugoslavia and Algeria.

147. The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), Sunday, February 19, 1989.

## Palestine Liberation Organization

The PLO was founded in January, 1964. During the period, 1950-70, of the several groups formed with the PLO, only five became important in the military and political sense: (1) al-Fateh under the leadership of Yasser Arafat; (2) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine under the leadership of G. Habash, which aims at "the liberation of Palestine and all the Arab countries from the yoke of imperialism and its instrument - Zionism"<sup>148</sup>; (3) Sajka (Avant-garde of the Popular War of Liberation), which operates in association with the Syrian al-Baath Party under the leadership of L. Mehzen; (4) PLO, formed in 1970, as a result of an agreement between ten different organizations under the Chairmanship of Yasser Arafat, the leader of al-Fatah; and (5) the organization, Black September, founded in 1970, when a "significant number of Palestinian partisans were killed in Amman in a conflict with the Jordanian army"<sup>149</sup>.

In September, 1973, the Conference of Non-aligned States recognised the PLO "as the sole legal representative of the Palestine people"<sup>150</sup>. The UN General Assembly, in 1974, confirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestine nation, stating that "the Palestine nation is the major party in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Near East"<sup>152</sup>, and requested the Secretary-General to "establish contact with the PLO in all matters concerning the Palestine question"<sup>153</sup>. On July 25, 1982, Yasser Arafat "affirmed the UN Resolution 318 and the right of Israel to be sovereign state but with equal right to sovereign Palestine"<sup>154</sup>.

At the Third Summit Conference (Lusaka, 1970), PLO was allowed to speak but was not given an official status. However, the Arabs and

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148. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 599; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, pp. 1756-57.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid.

151. Resolution 3236/XXIX of November 22, 1974.

152. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 599.

153. Ibid.

154. Ibid.

the Africans, both very strongly spoke on "the full restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine"<sup>155</sup>. In 1973, the PLO received recognition from the Non-aligned Movement. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) recognised the PLO due to "Israel's negative response to an OAU mediation mission"<sup>156</sup> in November, 1971. The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) observed:<sup>157</sup>

"The case of Palestine, where zionist settler-colonialism ... represents a very serious threat to their survival as a nation, is exactly the same as the situation in Southern Africa, where racist segregationist minorities ... (pursue) the requirements of a single imperialist strategy".

At the Colombo Summit Conference (1976), PLO was elected as one of the 25 members of the Coordinating Bureau<sup>158</sup> for a term of three years. The Lima Ministerial meeting (1975) called for the UN recognition of the PLO "as the sole representative of the Palestine people"<sup>159</sup> and as a UN observer.

#### (9) QATAR

Between 1872 and 1914, Qatar was under the Turkish control while the British were also present there since 1868. In 1916, Sheikh Abdullah signed a treaty with the British promising to end slave trade and piracy and not to permit any country to exploit its natural resources without their permission and, in return, the British offered him protection.<sup>160</sup> The Turks evacuated in 1919. In 1960, there was a dual power wielded by Khalifa of Bahrain and Sheikh Ahmad, who enjoyed absolute power, having "substantial contact with western colonialism"<sup>161</sup>. The discovery of oil in 1934, dramatically changed the situation, economically and politically. Standard of living rose markedly and extensive welfare programmes were admired by "the most ardent socialists". There were

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155. Consultative Meeting of Special Government Representatives of Non-Aligned Countries (Belgrade: Medunarodna Politika, 1970), p.172.

156. Peter Willetts, n. 69, p. 36.

157. Ibid., pp. 35-36. See for further details Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, pp. 108, 110-11.

158. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p.223.

159. Ibid., p. 146.

160. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 2232.

161. Jeffrey B. Nugent and Theodore H. Thomas, Bahrain and the Gulf: Past Perspectives and Alternative Future (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 190.

massive improvements in infrastructure, particularly, "of the educational system and even of heavy industry".<sup>162</sup>

The wave of emancipation and independence created by the Non-aligned countries throughout the whole world caused the people of Qatar to demand freedom from the British influence. As Qatar failed to form a union with its neighbouring countries - Bahrain and Trucial Oman and others, Britain withdrew its forces declaring its independence<sup>163</sup> on September 3, 1971, after signing a treaty of friendship, which ended the Treaty<sup>164</sup> of 1916. Qatar became the second Emirate in the Gulf area. It became member of the United Nations on September 21, 1971, and joined the Algiers NAM Conference<sup>165</sup> in September, 1973.

In 1979, Qatar opposed the Camp David Accords and supported Iraq in the Iran-Iraq War. As a result, Iranian gunboats badly damaged a Qatari freighter. Qatar has dispute with Bahrain over the question of sovereignty of Zubara (in mainland Qatar) and Harwar Island. Between Qatar and Bahrain, an artificial island of Fasht ad-Dibal, over which both nations claimed their sovereignty, has been destroyed to avoid any conflict in future.<sup>166</sup> Thus, Qatar, under the NAM principles, cooperates with its peace-loving neighbours to eliminate colonial powers' influence (political and economic) in the region. Qatar takes active part in the activities of the Non-aligned Movement and its conferences and helps in establishing a new world economic order with its huge petroleum profits. It is a member of OPEC, OAPEC and GCC.<sup>167</sup>

#### (10) SAUDI ARABIA

During the First World War (in 1915), Ibn Saud signed a treaty<sup>168</sup> with Britain and his proclamation as King of Hejaz on January 8, 1926, was recognised by the British in a treaty in May, 1927. The British

162. Ibid., p. 191.

163. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p.2232.

164. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p.647; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, pp. 2291-97.

165. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 121.

166. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 2232.

167. See for details The Middle East Year Book (London: I.C.Magazine Limited, 1975), pp. 40-44.

168. See for further details, The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p.2294.



were influential in the area, having treaties of protection with the small Gulf Emirates. Najd and Hejaz formed a dual kingdom and on September 23, 1932, they were named Kingdom of Saudi Arabia<sup>169</sup>. In 1936, Ibn Saud proclaimed himself the King of Saudi Arabia, initiated rapprochement with the United States and granted petroleum concession to the Arab-American Oil Company (ARAMCO)

In 1943, US military mission began to construct air force facilities at Dhahran (Az-Zaharan). American-Saudi cooperation grew and Saudi Arabia was included in the Point Four Programme of US technical assistance. In February, 1945, it declared war on Germany and Japan. Between 1945 and 1948, the policy of anti-colonialism, anti-neocolonialism, non-alignment and self-determination became the basis of foreign policy of the Asian, African and West Asian countries following the call of Nehru from New Delhi<sup>170</sup>. As a result, Saudi Arabia, though dependent upon Western technology for petroleum exploitation and military and defence Methodology, decided not to be a vassal state. It maintained its integrity and identity in 1948, when the State of Israel in Palestine was being supported by the USA. The Saudi-American relations marked some friction as Saudi Arabia opposed the creation of Israel. When the first Arab-Israeli war broke out, Saudi Arabia did not take part actively to support the Arabs<sup>171</sup> as it did not like to antagonise the United States and the United Kingdom.

Saudi Arabia, following the NAM principles, wanted to come out of the influence of Western powers, which were guiding the external policy of the country. In 1952-55, it was in conflict with Britain, "which annexed the Oasis - Al-Buraymi"<sup>172</sup>. In the meanwhile, Nasserite revolution in Egypt made the Arabs cautious. Due to attack on Suez in 1956, and Israeli occupation of the Gulf of Accaba, Saud broke off relations with France and Britain. The cold-war climate and the Soviet threat greatly cemented the Saudi-American relations. As a result,

169. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 669.

170. See for details Chapter II.

171. Only "a small Saudi Arabian force joined the armies of other Arab states in the War"; see The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol.II, p.2294.

172. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 704; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol.II, pp. 322-35.

Washington supplied modern artillery and aircraft to Saudi Arabia in 1958. In 1962, Saud went to the United States for treatment. In March, 1964, the King relinquished power in favour of his Crown Prince Feisal, who appointed his three brothers - Khaled as Commander of the Army, Fahd as Minister of the Interior, and Sultan as Minister of Defence.

King Feisal adopted the policy of non-alignment and took part in NAM Cairo meeting<sup>173</sup> (1961), actively participated in the NAM conferences and contributed its efforts for decolonization at the Belgrade Conference<sup>174</sup> (1961). The West Asian nations were much attracted by the Belgrade Declaration. President Nasser became the leading force of the Non-aligned Movement. To check the increasing influence of Nasserite nationalism, the United States increased military aid to Saudi Arabia, supplying Hawk missiles to it.

During the 1967 Arab-Israel war, Saudi Arabia suspended the supply of crude petroleum to the United States and Great Britain. As a result, after the War, Egypt withdrew from Yemen, and Saudi influence became strong. Between 1969 and 1971, Saudi Arabia spent one-third of its income on purchase of military equipment and planes from the United States, Britain and France. In 1970, Saudi Arabia advocated the American Middle East policy and supported the Rogers Plan. As a result, after Nasser's death in November, 1970, Saudi influence over Egypt grew and its policy opposing Nasser's nationalism. During the 1973 Israeli-Egyptian war, Feisal joined OAPEC in placing embargo on petroleum sales to the United States and Holland, but the embargo was lifted in 1974, as America won Saudi Arabia over to its side as the latter supplied strategic arms to the former.

On March 25, 1975, King Feisal was assassinated by one of his nephews<sup>175</sup> and Khaled succeeded to the throne. He was considered to be pro-American. He supported Egypt when Sadat adopted pro-US policy. After Khaled's sudden death<sup>176</sup> on June 13, 1982, Prince Fahd became King, while the Royal family split between traditionalists and modernists.

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173. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 1.

174. Ibid., p. 5.

175. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 671.

176. Ibid., p. 672.

Egypt and Saudi Arabia have differences on the issue of Palestine. Saudi Arabia favours the Palestinian cause while Egypt makes concession to Tel Aviv. Though Saudi Arabia has favoured sanctions against Egypt imposed by the Arab countries following the Camp David Agreements, it has supported President Sadat's policy. In 1980, Prince Fahd announced the drawing-up of a constitution and founding a Consultative Council of 50 - 70 members, which would change the existing system of autocratic system of government.

In September, 1982, Crown Prince Fahd, at a summit conference of Arab states, presented the "Fahd Peace Plan" for Middle East to remove US and the British influence from the region. In 1983, Saudi Arabia helped to achieve a ceasefire between factions of the PLO and also helped "to prepare elaboration of agreements in the Lebanon crisis"<sup>177</sup>. However, "Saudi Arabia is strongly anti-Communist" and "historically allied with the USA and other Western countries"<sup>178</sup>.

During the Great Gulf War, Saudi Arabia remained neutral. However, Saudi forces shot down an Iranian fighter which penetrated into its air space in 1984. Iran targeted Saudi Arabian oil tankers. The same year, in August, the "Hajj" was disrupted by demonstrations of Iranian pilgrims and a Libyan plan to occupy the mosque was thwarted. Further, in September, a Saudi Arabian merchant vessel, among others, was damaged by mines planted in the Red Sea by Al-Jihad. In 1987, the clash between Iranian pilgrims and Saudi Security forces during "Hajj" caused death of 402 people (of which 275 were Iranians). In protest, Saudi Arabian Embassy was sacked in Tehran. In April, 1987, Saudi Arabia broke off<sup>179</sup> diplomatic relations with Iran.

In March, 1988, Saudi Arabia received "unspecified number" of missiles from China, which provoked Israel. The United States warned Israel against any attack on Saudi Arabia. However, King Fahd demanded replacement of US Ambassador and strengthened his relations with China. The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China (PRC) visited<sup>180</sup> Saudi Arabia in 1988.

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177. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 704; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, pp.2322-35.

178. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p.2294.

179. Ibid., p. 2295.

180. Ibid., p. 2296.

(11) SYRIA

Syria remained under the Turkish rule until 1918, when the Allied troops occupied it and Lebanon. The Allies established a French mandate, which was strongly opposed in the country.<sup>181</sup> The League of Nations approved the mandate in 1923. The British and French forces occupied<sup>182</sup> the country in 1941, and formally recognised the independence but real power was still withheld.<sup>183</sup> As the French pressurised Syria to sign a Franco-Syrian Treaty and Syria refused, disturbances broke out in May, 1945. The people rose up in arms against the French and the British, who had bombed Damascus to suppress a popular uprising. Consequently, Syria won its independence on April 17, 1946, when the foreign troops<sup>184</sup> withdrew.

From 1946 to 1962, there was a political instability. In August, 1955, Shukri al-Kuwatli became President, who declared the Communist Party legal and "made a number of barter agreements with the USSR".<sup>185</sup> On February 5, 1958, the Syrian National Assembly approved the union of Syria with Egypt, constituting one state under the title of the United Arab Republic (UAR). Nasser became its first President. But since the Egyptians control over key positions grew, Syrians became dissatisfied and a Syrian military coup d'etate on September 28, 1961, separated the two countries and Syria once more became member of the United Nations<sup>186</sup> on October 13, 1961.

However, in March, 1963, the instability ended when the Baath Party seized power. On April 25, 1964, Syria was declared a democratic socialist republic with Maj. Gen. Amin al-Hafiz, as Head of the State, who denounced ulema and Muslim Brotherhood for causing disturbances and led a

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181. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 674.

182. Ibid.; see also The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 735.

183. The Middle East and North Africa, Ibid.

184. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 790; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, pp.2467-77.

185. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 736.

186. Ibid.

socialist revolution. Syria joined the Non-aligned Movement in October, 1964, at the Cairo Summit conference.<sup>187</sup>

The new government, in 1965, nationalized 114 industrial enterprises and declared the petroleum and mineral resources as public property. In 1966, the Soviet Union aided construction of a dam on the Euphrates River. In 1967, Israelis captured Syria's strategic Golan Heights, heavily bombed the military and civilian people in Damascus. In 1971, socialist transformation in different fields was accelerated. In 1971, President Assad came to power. In the fourth Arab-Israeli war (1973), Egyptian and Syrian forces rebuffed Israel. In May, 1974, Syria and Israel signed an agreement, according to which Israeli troops were to withdraw.

In 1975, the Baath, following the NAM policies and objectives, described the fight against the Zionist enemy as a "national struggle of anti-imperialist character" and supported the Palestinians' demand. Syria denounced the Camp David Accords.<sup>188</sup> In 1980, President Assad visited the Soviet Union and signed a 20-year treaty of friendship and cooperation. In 1981, Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia proposed a plan to solve Palestinian problem, recognising Israel, which was opposed at the Fez (Morocco) conference of the Arab States in November, 1981. Later, Syria agreed<sup>189</sup> to the 'Fahd Plan'. Syria was involved in Arab-Israel war as it assisted Lebanon on invitation and on this ground rejected the treaty proposed by George Schultz on May 17, 1983, between Israel and Lebanon. Syria mediated to end Iran-Iraq war. Saudi Arabia is the main source of financial assistance to Syria.

The Coordinating Bureau at its meeting in Kuwait (1982) condemned Israel for its rejection of the Security Council Resolution 497 (1981) of December 17, 1981, and the General Assembly Resolution 36/226B of even date and affirmed that annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel was illegitimate. The Ministers expressed indignation at "the aggressive, repressive and arbitrary measures taken by Israel against Syrian nationals, depriving them of their basic rights and fundamental freedom,

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187. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.

188. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 2551.

189. Ibid.

in violation of the provisions of the 4th Geneva Convention<sup>190</sup>". The Ministers praised and supported the Syrians for "their just struggle in defence of their freedom, territorial integrity and national identity"<sup>191</sup>. They demanded compliance with the provisions of the General Assembly Emergency Special Resolution 9/1 of 1982, and noted that Israel was a belligerent State and deplored the US arm and technology assistance to Israel. They requested all the UN members to implement the GA Resolution ES/9/1 of 1982, concerning the Golan Heights and called upon the Security Council to compel Israel to rescind the annexation in compliance with the SC Resolution 497(1981).

NAM's Seventh Summit Conference held at New Delhi in 1983, reiterated the earlier decisions<sup>192</sup>. Its Coordinating Bureau, at its meeting held in New Delhi in 1986, demanded immediate withdrawal of Israel from the Golan Heights and "hailed the movement of revolt of the Syrian Arab inhabitants of the Golan Heights against Israeli occupation"<sup>193</sup>. The Eighth Summit Conference held at Harare in 1986, reiterating the earlier decisions, rejected Israel's decision taken on December 14, 1981, "to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Syrian Arab Golan Heights"<sup>194</sup> and considered it an aggression under the provisions of Article 39 of the UN Charter. The participants called upon the Security Council to impose on Israel sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

## (12) UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

In the eighteenth century, the Emirates (called Pirate Coast), particularly Ras al Khaimah, imposed duties on foreign ships anchoring in their ports, which affected the economic interest of Britain. The British, in 1819, landed a force of 2,000 armed men in the area and destroyed the ships and defences of Ras al Khaimah and, thus, secured for themselves free navigation in the Gulf. On August 8, 1820, Ras al Khaimah signed a General Peace Treaty with the British Government and the other Emirates followed suit. In March, 1892, Britain imposed on the Emirates an Exclusive Agreement, which gave them right to supervise

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190. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, n. 554.

191. Ibid.

192. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 43, n. 30.

193. Ibid., p. 243.

194. Review of International Affairs, n. 52, p. 52.

the external relations of the Emirates. In 1911 and 1912, the treaties were amended, which "prevented the Arab chieftains from granting concessions for pearl-fishing, gathering of sea sponges or petroleum prospecting".<sup>195</sup> Between 1922 and 1966, the British solely exploited the petroleum deposits.<sup>196</sup>

Meanwhile, the Belgrade Summit Conference (1961) declared its policy of non-alignment and condemned colonialism and neo-colonialism in any form. The Cairo Summit Conference (1964) reiterated its conviction that Great Power alliances accentuated the cold war and "heightened international tensions" and that foreign military bases and troops in other countries violated the sovereignty of States and helped in the "maintenance of colonialism or for other purposes".<sup>197</sup> The Conference called upon such States to remove foreign bases and troops forthwith. In view of the rising wave of emancipation, the British Government found no way other than to leave the Southern Arabia in 1967, and to announce in 1968 to give up the Gulf Coast in 1971. Great Britain "terminated all treaties with the Trucial States"<sup>198</sup> and, on December 2, 1971, the States established the independent United Arab Emirates<sup>199</sup> (UAE), comprising Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ummal-Qaiwain, Ajman and Fujariah. Ras al Khaimah joined the UAE in February, 1972. Sheikh Zayed (the ruler of Abu Dhabi) became President, Shaikh Rashid (the ruler of Dubai since 1958) became Vice-President and Sheikh Maktoum (eldest son of Sheikh Rashid) became Prime Minister.<sup>200</sup> In the meantime, Iran occupied Abu Musa under sovereignty of Sharjah,<sup>201</sup> and two Tomb islands claimed by Ras al Khaimah.<sup>202</sup>

The UAE was admitted as member of the Arab League on December 6, 1971, became member of the United Nations on December 7, 1971, and joined for the first time the Non-aligned Movement as member at its Algiers Summit Conference<sup>203</sup> (1973). It has always expressed solidarity with the Arab countries fighting for return of their territories occupied by Israel

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195. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 717.

196. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, n. 834.

197. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 24.

198. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 836; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, pp. 2555-65.

199. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 2759.

200. Ibid.

201. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 836.

202. Ibid., pp. 836-37.

203. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, n. 121.

during the 1967 and 1973 wars. It supported Iraq in the Gulf War and opposed the Camp David Accords. It is a founder member of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) since 1981. In November, 1987, the country resumed diplomatic relations with Egypt and, in March, 1988, UAE President visited Egypt and signed a trade agreement with Cairo.<sup>204</sup>

#### YAR AND PDRY

In 1517, the Ottoman Turks occupied Yemen in spite of strong European competition. The British occupied Aden in 1839 and turned it into a powerful bastion of colonialism and, between 1839 and 1915, forced thirty-one of the feudal lords to sign treaties, which envisaged that they would not negotiate with other powers in exchange for British protection.<sup>205</sup> Between 1854 and 1915, Britain occupied the islands of Kuria Muria, Perim and Kamaran, and prevented the Turkish penetration of Yemen, while the opening of the Suez Canal enhanced the strategic importance of the country. During the First World War, Yemen, at war with Turkey for independence, sided with the Allies.<sup>206</sup> The conflict between the British Government and the Turks ended with their signing the 1914 treaty, according to which a so-called 'Violet Line' divided and separated the country into a Turkish Yemen in the north and a British Yemen in the south.

#### (13) YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC (YAR) -North Yemen

As the North is mountainous and was dismembered during the First World War, the Turks found it difficult to rule over it. So, they, under the Mudros Armistice in 1918, gave it to the Imam as an independent state, which endangered the British colonial policy. In the North, the Saudis, in 1934, invaded the territory with the assistance of Britain and imposing on the Imam the Treaty of Taif, occupied Assir and parts of<sup>207</sup> Najran region, which defined the boundary with Saudi Arabia. In the South, the British Government forced the Imam to sign the Treaty of Sana'a, which sealed the division of the country. In 1928, the country

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204. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, n. 2760.

205. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 755.

206. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p.950; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, nn. 2701-08.

207. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 856.



signed a treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union. It remained neutral during the Second World War and joined the Arab League in 1945, and was admitted to the United Nations<sup>208</sup> on September 30, 1947.

Yemen concluded, in 1950, a treaty with the British Government to establish diplomatic relations and, in 1956, a mutual defence agreement with Egypt and Saudi Arabia. On March 8, 1958, Yemen formed an ephemeral union with Egypt and Syria<sup>209</sup> and, in 1959, permitted the US establishment in Sana'a. The Imam, Saif al-Islam al-Ahmad, enjoyed absolute rule. His son, Mohammad Al Badr, in view of the grave poverty, oppression and backwardness in the country, introduced reforms, which were revoked by his father. After Imam Ahmad's death in 1962, Al Badr succeeded to the throne, but a week later, he was deposed by revolutionary forces led by Colonel Abdullah as-Sallal, who proclaimed the Yemen Arab Republic<sup>210</sup> (YAR).

The new government adopted a republican constitution, introduced agrarian reforms, organized state farms on land confiscated from the Imam and involved the peasants in cooperatives and establishment of industrial enterprises. The YAR was recognised by Egypt, Syria, Iraq and a number of NAM and socialist countries. With the Saudi and Jordanian assistance, and backed by Britain, the Imam's supporters attacked the Republic. Sallal, assisted by Egypt, waged a war with the Imam's supporters. Their conflict lasted for eight years.

In September, 1961, Saudi Arabia and YAR joined the Non-aligned Movement at Belgrade<sup>211</sup> and, in 1962, YAR was recognised by more than fifty nations. The United Nations succeeded in forging a compromise between Saudi Arabia and YAR, and the Saudi government promised to withdraw her support to the Yemeni tribes. In 1963, Yemen "charged Saudi Arabia and Egypt with anti-republican diversionary activity"<sup>212</sup>, which led to the sending on June 13, 1963, of a UN Observer Mission to Yemen. The

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208. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 950.

209. Ibid.; see also The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 856.

210. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, n. 3052.

211. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 5.

212. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 950.

Mission established a demilitarized zone.

The British government supported the Royalist forces, who created conflict in October, 1964. YNYOM remained in Yemen until September 4, 1964.<sup>213</sup> The Egyptian forces left YAR in 1967 due to Arab-Israel war. Sallal was deposed and the Rightists formed the Government headed by Abdul Rahman al-Iriani, who opposed the Saudi financial subsidies to the powerful tribes. In January, 1968, the British forces, which "had effectively colonized the republican-held sector"<sup>214</sup> withdrew from the country. The withdrawal was welcomed by the Royalist forces, which became bolder and, in a coup, deposed President Sallal in November, 1968.

In 1970, the Government carried out repression. As a result, 300,000 Southern Yemenis fled to the YAR.<sup>215</sup> The refugees joined mercenary organizations and attempted to overthrow the regime in the South. In 1971, their intermittent conflict turned into warfare - YAF supported by Saudi Arabia and PDRY by the Soviet Union.<sup>216</sup> The Prime Minister of the YAR and the PDRY met, first, in Cairo on October 28, 1972, and then in Tripoli (Libya) in November, 1972, and signed an agreement, which said that "the Arab people of Yemen shall establish a single State which shall be called the Yemeni Republic".<sup>217</sup> The unification could not be completed due to opposition by tribal chiefs, supported by the British government and the Saudis and, later, due to internal conflicts. In 1977, Col. Al Hamdi wrote to the President of the PDRY to adopt a common national anthem, a flag and a defence body.

After Al Hamdi's assassination, pro-Saudi elements (tribal chiefs led by President Lt. Col. Ghashmi) came to power. 20,000 men in Sedda demonstrated against the return of 'tribalism' and denounced incidents along the frontiers with PDRY, which were provoked by the tribal groups directed by Saudi Arabia. When he was to meet a special South Yemeni envoy in his office, in June, 1978, he was killed by a bomb explosion

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213. Ibid.

214. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 857.

215. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 3052.

216. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 950.

217. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 747.

planned by the imperialists to cause a war in Yemen. The South Yemen denounced the killing. Lt. Col. Ali Abdullah Saleh became President, while fighting between the PDRY and the YAR started. At a meeting arranged by the Arab League in Kuwait, an agreement was signed by the two nations for complete union of the two states.<sup>218</sup>

In September, 1980, the head of state of PDRY visited Sana'a and this started a new era of rapprochement between the two countries. In December, 1981, both the countries "signed a draft constitution for a unified state"<sup>219</sup>. In 1987, Kuwait mediated and "one-half of the refugees returned"<sup>220</sup> to PDRY. A meeting took place in May, 1988, between President Saleh of YAR and Ali Salim al-Beid of PDRY and they agreed to withdraw their troops from the mutual border between Marib and Shabwah and to "carry out joint projects involving exploration for petroleum"<sup>221</sup>. YAR resumed her diplomatic relations, in 1987, with Egypt, which had broken due to the Camp David Accords in 1979. In July, 1988, Col. Qaddafi invited the YAR and the PDRY to discuss unification, when 10,000 refugees were in YAR.

(14) PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN (PDRY) -South Yemen

The territory of South Yemen, composed of Aden and twenty-two ministates (Sheikhdoms), since 1839, was under the British tutelage in part of Aden, and, from 1882 to 1914, the Sheikhdoms accepted protection of Britain. In 1932, Aden was a province subordinated to the British Government in India. In 1937, Aden proclaimed a British Protectorate. Between 1938 and 1954, Britain appointed thirteen of her envoys to see that the British Governor's orders were executed in the western and eastern parts of the territory. After the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt in 1956, England and France decided to control the Middle East petroleum resources. In 1963, the South Yemen National Liberation Front (SYNLF) was formed by merger of several Marxist and nationalist Arab groups.<sup>222</sup> Encouraged and inspired by the NAM declarations at the Belgrade Summit Conference in 1961, which supported struggles for

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218. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, n. 3052.

219. Ibid.

220. Ibid.

221. Ibid., n. 3053.

222. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 756.

independence in order to remove foreign forces and bases in subject countries or their domination in one way or the other<sup>223</sup>, the SYNLF launched an armed struggle against the British rule. In 1964, the City of Aden joined the Federation of Arab Emirates formed on February 11, 1959.

In January, 1964, the British forces, aided by tribal army, launched an "Operation Nutcracker" against the insurgents of Rafadan and, between May and July, destroyed 85% of the settlements. The patriotic forces opened eight fronts of guerilla war in all the provinces. Since the British realised the impossibility of retaining their colonial rule, Maj. Kenneth Robson, on November 14, 1967, surrendered. After the withdrawal of the British troops, independence<sup>224</sup> of Aden, along with other Sheikhdoms, was announced on November 26, 1967, and on November 30, the British flag was lowered<sup>225</sup>. Thus, the 129 year of the British colonial domination in Aden came to an end. The country became member of the United Nations on December 12, 1967, and joined the Non-aligned Movement at the NAM Lusaka Summit Conference<sup>226</sup> in 1970.

In 1969, the Rightist Government nationalized foreign trade, banking and insurance companies. The People's Revolution of October 14, 1967, completed the people's struggle. Saudi Arabia, North Yemen (YAR), Libya and the Sultanate of Oman, which had closer ties with the West, tried to destabilize the South Yemen state, which they accused of having received aid<sup>227</sup> from USSR and China and chosen scientific socialism for national development. In November, 1970, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) was proclaimed<sup>228</sup> "comprising Aden and the former protectorate of South Arabia"<sup>229</sup>, headed by the SYNLF, known as National Front (NF). On October 28, 1972, an agreement with the YAR was signed

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223. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 5.

224. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 950; see for further details The Europa Year Book, 1984, n. 5, Vol. II, pp. 2709-17.

225. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 757.

226. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p.51.

227. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol.II, n. 3064.

228. Ibid.

229. Ibid.

to re-unify the two countries to be known as the Yemeni Republic, with Sana'a as its capital,<sup>230</sup> but it could never be implemented.

On October 14, 1975, the United Political Organization of the National Front (UPONF) was formed (merging NF with two others). After YAR President Ghashmi's assassination in June, 1978, Salem Robaya Ali, who opposed the formation of a socialist party, was arrested on June 25, 1978, and executed.<sup>231</sup> On April 21, 1980, Ali Nasser Mohammed became head of the state and re-asserted his country's determination for re-unification with the North. However, renewed efforts for -re-unification of the YAR and the PDRY, until 1988, has failed to bring out any concrete result.

PDRY, in 1979, signed a 20-year treaty of Friendship and Cooperation,<sup>232</sup> and in 1982, an "aid agreement"<sup>233</sup> with the USSR, by which the USSR "would help in development work".<sup>234</sup> The country also established diplomatic relations with Oman in October, 1983, and an "agreement to exchange ambassadors was reached in 1985".<sup>235</sup> Further, to solve the problem of 10,000 refugees who had fled from the PDRY to YAR during January, 1986 disturbances in Aden, Kuwait mediated between the YAR and the PDRY. As a result, in July, 1987, "more than one half"<sup>236</sup> of these refugees returned to PDRY.

## (B) NORTH AFRICA

This region consists of Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia.

### (1) ALGERIA

In 1844, French rule was established in Algeria and it was attached to metropolitan France. The French white settler minority

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230. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 880.

231. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 3064.

232. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p.950.

233. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 3064.

234. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 880.

235. Ibid., p. 881.

236. Ibid., p. 882.

held political and economic power and "the indigenous Muslim majority had no equal rights"<sup>237</sup>. Algeria was declared a French colonial territory<sup>238</sup> in 1848. The inhabitants had to work "under slave-like conditions"<sup>239</sup> and their children had to sing "Our ancestors, the Gauls, had long hair"<sup>240</sup>. The "Native Code"<sup>241</sup> subjected them to corporal punishment without having right to appeal for justice. Since all the Arab newspapers and schools were closed, soon more than 90% of the Arabs and Berbers became illiterate.

During the Second World War, about 300,000 Algerians fought against Fascism, while, in 1943, an Algerian People's Manifesto condemned colonialism and called for its abolition. As a result of discontent, the people were granted minority concessions with 40% representation at municipal and national levels. After the War, they demanded "total independence" and about 40,000 people fell victim to French bullets and, in 1947, about 30,000 Algerians were imprisoned. Meanwhile the US capital began its penetration of Algeria in the areas of petroleum prospecting and strategic raw materials.

By the end of the fourth decade, a row of newly independent Asian nations gave momentum to the idea of non-alignment, independence and self-determination, which inspired the people to start an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution while the guerilla units of the Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN), consisting of 50,000 armed men, started<sup>242</sup> on November 1, 1954, a war for independence<sup>243</sup>, attacking the French army of 400,000. About 1 million Muslims were killed or wounded. In 1958, the FLN forces grew to 130,000 and, likewise, France raised her army to 800,000. On September 19, 1958, a Provisional Government of the Revolution (GPRA)<sup>244</sup> was announced, which was immediately recognised by seventeen non-aligned nations. In January, 1960, the French 'colons' founded the Secret Army Organization (OAS) to assassinate the Algerian leaders.

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237. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. I, p. 301.

238. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 22.

239. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 26.

240. Ibid.

241. Ibid.

242. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 270.

243. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 22.

244. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 271.

The NAM Belgrade Summit Conference (1961) felt gratified at the participation of Benkhedda Ben Youssef, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Algeria, and considered the struggle of the people of Algeria for independence and "integrity of its national territory including the Sahara, to be just and necessary" and expressed determination for extending "all the possible support and aid"<sup>245</sup>, which gave impetus to the Algerian independence movement, and Algeria became independent<sup>246</sup> on July 3, 1962. On September 25, the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria was proclaimed, and Ahmed Ben Bella, founder of the FLN, became Prime Minister and about 1 million French settlers emigrated from the country. About 1,500,000 Algerians sacrificed their lives during the struggle for independence. Algeria became member of the United Nations on October 10, 1962. She became a member of the Arab League, OAU, OAPEC, OPEC and the Maghreb organisation. It has a trade and cooperation agreement with the EEC since 1976.

Since independence, Algeria has been "one of the most prominent non-aligned states"<sup>248</sup>. She played an important part in the release of the American hostages in Iran in January, 1981; supported various liberation movements in Africa and the Middle East and provided military, financial and diplomatic aid to the Polisario Front in Western Africa. Algeria "advocated the founding of an independent Saharan state after decolonization"<sup>249</sup>. She opposed the claim of Morocco and Mauritania over Western Sahara, which embittered relations between France and Algeria. But, with the advent of socialist government in France in 1981, their relations improved and President Chadli visited Paris in 1982, and the French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac visited Algiers in September, 1986. The French Government expelled thirteen members of the Mouvement pour La De'mocratie en Algerie (MDA) - founded by Ben Bella in 1984. In 1987, Algeria assisted in the "negotiations between France and Iran over the blockade of the French embassy in Teheran and the Iranian embassy in Paris"<sup>250</sup>.

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245. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 7.

246. "... independence of Algeria on July 5, 1962"; see The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 22.

247. Ibid.

248. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. I, p. 302.

249. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 274.

250. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 302.

Chadli, on the one hand, met the US President in April, 1986, and succeeded in getting Algeria removed from the list of countries "ineligible" to purchase US military equipment and, on the other, visited Moscow, in March, 1986, and in September, 1987, signed a "draft cooperation agreement<sup>251</sup> with the USSR". Algeria also joined the Maghreb Fraternity and Cooperation Treaty with Tunisia, joined by Mauritania in December, 1983. As Mauritania and Morocco had conflict over the Western Sahara, and Algeria supported the Polisario Front, Morocco did not join it. However, King Fahd mediated and the two countries agreed to resolve their dispute and exchange of prisoners of war.

In June, 1987, Col. Qaddafi's proposal for a political union with Algeria failed as President Bourguiba of Tunisia favoured only cooperation rather than complete unification of Maghrebian countries.<sup>253</sup>

## (2) EGYPT

Great Britain proclaimed Egypt as her protectorate in 1914, and, on account of violent popular demand for self-determination, granted "nominal independence"<sup>254</sup> on February 28, 1922, under the Kingship of Fuad I, who had become a king in 1917. In 1936, Fuad I was succeeded by his son, King Faruq, who signed, with Britain, a Special Treaty, which limited the presence of the British garrison on the Suez Canal and gave them right to use Alexandria and Port Said as naval bases.

After the Second World War, the British forces withdrew from Alexandria and Port Said. On May 14, 1948, the State of Israel was established in Palestine by the United States and the United Kingdom. Egypt, being a member of and ordered by the Arab League fought against Israeli aggression and expansionist invasion in 1948, and, in 1951, annulled the 1936 treaty and the condominium agreement<sup>255</sup> on Sudan.

251. Ibid.

252. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 278.

253. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. I, n. 302.

254. Ibid., p. 945. The British troops remained in Egypt and Sudan under the British-Egyptian condominium since 1899; see The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 227.

255. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 228.



On July 23, 1952, King Faruq's widely known corrupt regime was overthrown by the young army, "Free Officers", led by Lt.Col.Gamal Abd an-Nasir (Nasser). On June 18, 1953, Egypt was proclaimed a republic with Gen. Neguib as President and Prime Minister. In April, 1954, Col. Nasser became Prime Minister and, in November, 1954, he became Head of the State. Nasser championed Arab unity and "played a prominent part in the Non-Aligned Movement"<sup>256</sup>.

Having failed to obtain Western armament, Nasser accepted military assistance from the USSR. According to an agreement, signed in October, 1955, with the United Kingdom, the British withdrew their forces from the Suez Canal Zone on June 18, 1956. As the United States and Britain, on July 28, 1956, withdrew their committed assistance<sup>257</sup> for construction of Aswan Dam on the River Nile, Col. Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal Company. As a result, Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula on October 29, 1956, joined by Britain and France. However, the UN and US pressure resulted in ceasefire on November 6, 1956. The Suez crisis aroused "the wide body of anti-colonial sentiment"<sup>258</sup> and in December, 1956, the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was deployed "on the Egyptian-Israeli demarcation line<sup>259</sup> of 1949". Israel withdrew from the Sinai in January, 1957, and from Ghaza and Sharm el-Sheikh in March, 1957.<sup>260</sup>

In June, 1967, Israel occupied Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, the Ghaza Strip, the West Bank of Jordan and the Syrian Golan Heights and, despite UN resolution to withdraw, Israel continued her occupation. The NAM's Third Summit Conference (Lusaka, 1970) condemned the continued Israeli occupation of the territories of the three non-aligned countries and demanded "immediate withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories"<sup>261</sup>.

On September 28, 1970, Nasser died of heart attack and Anwar Sadat assumed the Presidentship. President Sadat on October 10, 1970,

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256. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. I, p. 945.

257. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, n. 354.

258. Evan Luard, The Evolution of International Organizations (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), p. 147.

259. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 226.

260. Ibid., p. 228.

261. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 51.

declared: "We shall adhere to the policy of non-alignment, as we learnt from Gamal Abdul Nasser"<sup>262</sup>.

In February, 1958, Egypt and Syria had merged together and formed the United Arab Republic (UAR), but in September, 1961, Syria withdrew and Egypt retained the title of UAR until 1971, when Col. Sadat renamed the country as the Arab Republic of Egypt<sup>263</sup>.

NAM's Georgetown Conference (August, 1972) supported "Egypt, Jordan and Syria in their legitimate struggle to recover entirely and by every means their territorial integrity", requested the United Nations to take adequate measures, urged the UN members "to refrain from supplying Israel with any weapons" and declared invalid the Israeli efforts to change "the demographic, ethnic or political structure of the occupied areas"<sup>264</sup>. Its Algiers Summit Conference (September, 1973) observed that Israel's policy of aggression, expansion and annexation was "a challenge to the international community, to the United Nations and to the universal declaration on human rights" and "a threat to international peace and security"<sup>265</sup>. The Conference condemned "the military, economic, political and moral support of some Western Powers, the United States of America in particular"<sup>266</sup> to Israel, and recommended imposition of certain sanctions against Israel.

Despite world opinion created by the NAM against Israel, the Zionist occupation of the Arab territories and aggression continued. After the fourth Arab-Israel war in October, 1973, Sadat's government suffered a great loss. The economic and socio-political situation in Egypt turned from bad to worse. Therefore, in December, 1973, Egypt agreed to conclude an agreement with Israel, thereby disengaging her troops in the Suez Canal area. Soon Egypt re-established her diplomatic relations with the United States, which had greatly assisted Israel in the war.

262. Attar Chand, Nonaligned States : A Great Leap Forward (Delhi: UDH Publishers, 1983), p. 167.

263. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 945.

264. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 83.

265. Ibid., p. 94.

266. Ibid., p. 111.

The Coordinating Bureau (Algiers, 1974) considered the struggle of the people of Egypt against Israel as a war against colonialism, racism and imperialist domination. It noted Israel's distorted interpretation of "troop disengagement" as "merely a means to prolong occupation" and to return to the state of "no war-no peace"<sup>267</sup>.

Pressed by the United States, Sadat and Begin signed a peace treaty at Camp David (Maryland) in November, 1977, which granted autonomy to the West Bank and the Ghaza Strip.<sup>268</sup> The Coordinating Bureau (Colombo, 1979) demanded, among others, that "the Arab City of Jerusalem should be restored to Arab sovereignty"<sup>269</sup> and condemned the US excessive military and financial support to Israel, which had, in fact, become an obstacle to the establishment of peace in the region. The members appealed to all the NAM members "not to extend any recognition to these Accords (Camp David) and Treaty"<sup>270</sup>. The Sixth Summit Conference (Havana, 1979), reviewing the earlier resolutions, recommended, inter alia, to the Coordinating Bureau to consider "the removal of Egypt from the NAM membership"<sup>271</sup>. In spite of Arabs' opposition to the Camp David Accords, Egypt remained in the US-Zionist fold. In April, 1980, Sadat complained to the United States against the collapse of the Accords as its implementation was blocked by Israel's continued occupation of Jerusalem and refusal to accord 'autonomy' to Palestine.

The Foreign Ministers Conference (New Delhi, 1981) threatened that those countries which continued to support Israel would face appropriate reaction of the NAM countries.<sup>272</sup> However, the Eighth Summit Conference (Harare, 1986) was attended by Egypt. The Conference, condemning "any accord or treaty that violates or infringes the rights of the Arab nations and the Palestinian people", condemned "unilateral and partial solutions"<sup>273</sup>. However, Israel continues to occupy the Arab territories.

267. Ibid., p. 128.

268. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 212.

269. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 375.

270. Ibid., p. 376.

271. Ibid., p. 414.

272. Ibid., p. 506.

273. Review of International Affairs, n. 52, p. 52.

Since Sadat made large-scale arrests of Muslim fundamentalists, he was assassinated on October 6, 1981, by a member of the Islamic Jihad and was succeeded by Lt. Gen. Hosni Mubarak<sup>274</sup>.

Israel invaded Lebanon in June, 1982, and, in protest, Egypt broke off diplomatic relations with Israel, who accused Egypt of contravention of the Camp David Accords, while Israel had not yet vacated the minute strip of Taba on the Red Sea. The international arbitration had granted Egypt's sovereignty over Taba while "Israel was granted access to the area"<sup>275</sup>.

In February, 1984, Egypt urged the United States "to open direct talks with the PLO" and demanded from Israel "withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon"<sup>276</sup>.

The Amman Summit Conference of the League of Arab States on November, 1987, decided to re-establish diplomatic links with Egypt, which supported Iraq in the Gulf War and was recognised militarily a powerful nation. However, Libya continued to oppose Egypt due to her 1979 peace-treaty with Israel<sup>277</sup>. Egypt re-established her diplomatic relations with the USSR, which had ended in 1982, and with Lebanon<sup>278</sup> in June, 1989.

### (3) LIBYA

Turkish rule lasted in Libya from the sixteenth century until 1911, when it was seized by Italy. In 1922, Libya was divided into three zones to suppress the rebellious population. The rebel leader, Omar Mukhtar, put up resistance until 1931, when he was killed by the Italians, who banned the Muslim customs and manners. In 1942, the Nazi troops abandoned Cyrenaica and Tripolitania to the British colonial administration<sup>279</sup>, while the French still occupied El Fezzan<sup>280</sup>. The UN General

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274. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 946.

275. Ibid., p. 947.

276. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 228.

277. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 948.

278. The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), June 30, 1989.

279. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 585.

280. E.A. Boating, A Political Geography of Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Rep. 1979), p. 96; see also The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1710.

Assembly Resolution 289/IV of November 21, 1949, provided that "the trusteeship known as Tripolitania Cyrenaica and Fezan since December 24, 1951, should become a sovereign independent country under the historical name of Libya<sup>281</sup>".

After the Second World War, as the capitalist powers could not reach an agreement on Balkanization of Libya, they referred it to the United Nations. Britain recognized Emir Sayad Idris of Cyrenaica as ruler. He had collaborated with the Allied forces in expelling the Germans from the territory. The country became independent as the United Kingdom of Libya under a federal constitution, proclaimed in Benghazi on December 24, 1951, together with a ruling family headed by Muhammad Idris. The King allowed the United States to establish air bases in Libya in exchange of economic aid and granted concessions to foreign companies for petroleum prospecting. In 1953, Libya joined the Arab League; in 1954, the French evacuated El Fezzan and on December 14, 1955, Libya was admitted to the United Nations<sup>282</sup>. In 1960, Libya became one of the world's largest petroleum producers but its income did not benefit the marginal classes and the country remained utterly backward. The Kingdom did not permit any social or political opposition movements.

Libya participated in NAM's Cairo Conference in 1964 and restricted<sup>283</sup> petroleum supply to the United States after the 'six day' Arab-Israel war in June, 1967. Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi, leader of the young nationalist army officers and Arab Socialist Union (ASU), opposing the US base in Libya, led, on September 1, 1969, a coup in the absence of the aged King, abolished the monarchy, instituted the Libyan Arab Republic and became Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council. Qaddafi, in December, 1971, nationalized the British petroleum enterprises and, on September 3, 1973, nationalized 51% of all the foreign oil companies<sup>284</sup> in Libya.

Qaddafi promoted schemes for Arab unity, forming in January, 1972,

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281. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 472.

282. Ibid.

283. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1710.

284. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 472.

the Federation of Arab Republics, comprising Egypt, Libya and Syria. Proposals for union with Tunisia in 1974, with Syria in 1980, and with Chad in 1981, proved abortive. Further, Libya's relations with Egypt became strained; first, due to Sadat's opening of 1973 war with Israel without consulting Qaddafi;<sup>285</sup> secondly, due to Egypt-Libyan border conflict in July, 1977; and, thirdly, due to Sadat's intrigue to overthrow Qaddafi. Therefore, Libya opposed Sadat's 'peace initiative with Israel in November, 1977, and held a conference of "rejectionist" Arab states. Qaddafi changed the country's name to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The war between Libya and Chad in August, 1983, began with Libya's occupation of Aozou Strips in 1973. Qaddafi interfered in Chad's internal affairs to secure survival of President Goukouni in N'Djamena in 1980, and deployed about 10,000 troops as peace-keeping force in Chad despite Goukouni's request to withdraw. Goukouni's failure to check the Libyan troops led to his fall. He was succeeded by President Hussene Habre in November, 1982. In August, 1983, Libyan aircraft supported Goukouni's GUNT (rebel force). The French troops assisted Chad in securing a defensive line across Chad at latitude 15°N (later extended 100 km northwards to latitude 16°N).<sup>286</sup> The war resumed in April, 1984, when Libya occupied the northern desert of Chad. It was intensified in October, 1984, when Libyan forces arrested Goukouni in Tripoli due to his "conciliatory policy towards President Habre".<sup>287</sup> As a result, Goukouni's forces (FAP) joined Habre in war against Libya. However, Chad and Libya agreed to a ceasefire proposed by the OAU, which included the members of the Non-aligned Movement. France and Libya agreed to withdraw their forces from Chad. Further, Egypt unilaterally withdrew from the January, 1972 agreement for a "Union of Arab Republics".<sup>288</sup>

Libya's relations with the United States deteriorated in 1981; first, as the latter opposed the former's interference in Chad and shot down two Libyan jet-fighters over the Gulf of Sirte; and, secondly, owing to an alleged plan of 'Libyan Hit-Squad' to assassinate Reagan.

285. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, n. 588.

286. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1710.

287. Ibid.

288. Ibid., p. 1711.

Diplomatic relations of Libya with the United Kingdom broke off in March, 1984, due to death of an English policewoman during firing by the Libyan People's Bureau in London on anti-Qaddafi demonstrators. Qaddafi accused the opposition groups, especially the National Front for the Salvation of Libya (NFSL) of being fostered by foreign governments.<sup>289</sup> Libya's relations with Morocco greatly improved in 1984, with the signing of a treaty of union between King Hasan and Col. Qaddafi. But in August, 1986, it was abrogated as Qaddafi criticised King Hasan's meeting with Israeli Prime Minister. Shimon Peres. In December, 1984, Libya and Malta signed a five-year treaty, which envisaged Libyan responsibility to defend Malta; but in June, 1985, their border dispute ended with the ICJ ruling which extended Libya's "territorial waters 18 nautical miles (33 km) northwards towards Malta".<sup>290</sup> Libya supported the rebels in southern Sudan against President Nimeri who was overthrown in a bloodless coup in April, 1985, and advised the rebels to "lay down their arms and negotiate with the new government".<sup>291</sup> Qaddafi threatened to overthrow the government of Bourguiba in Tunisia, which severed its diplomatic relations with Libya in September, 1985. Iraq also severed its diplomatic relations with Libya when Qaddafi signed a "strategic alliance" agreement<sup>292</sup> with Iran in June, 1985. Qaddafi's alleged involvement in "international terrorism" caused "serious worsening of relations" with the United States.<sup>293</sup> Libya was accused of hijacking an Egyptian airliner to Malta and training Palestinian commandos. In January, 1986, the United States severed "all economic and commercial relations"<sup>294</sup> with Libya and ordered to "freeze" Libyan assets in USA.

Since 1973, Libyan territorial waters in the Gulf of Sirte were within 12 nautical miles (22 km). In December, 1985, Col. Qaddafi "drew a notional line of death" across the Gulf of Sirte, along latitude 32° 30' N". On March 24, 1986, Libya hit a US fighter aircraft flying "inside the line of death", followed by US attack on Tripoli

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289. Ibid.

290. Ibid.

291. Ibid.

292. The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 591.

293. Ibid., p. 592.

294. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1711.

and Benghazi destroying all the military training camps and bombing even Qaddafi's residence killing 101 people<sup>295</sup>. Qaddafi gradually emerged after the assault. He soon re-established diplomatic relations with the Arab States - Algeria, Tunisia, Iraq and Jordan, and also "sponsored efforts to reunify the divided Palestinian liberation movement"<sup>296</sup> and urged Iran and Iraq to observe the UN Security Council Resolution 598 for ceasefire.

#### (4) MOROCCO

The Moroccans, in 1912, waged a resistance struggle against the Franco-Spanish agreement, which established French Protectorate in the South and a smaller protectorate<sup>297</sup> in the North. The victory of the Rif mountaneous tribes in 1920, over a Spanish army of 20,000 contributed much to the national liberation war. The tribal nobility, on September 19, 1921, declared the Republic of Rif, but soon France seized the Querrah Valley and granary of the Rif, and, in 1923, turned Tangier and its surrounding territory into an 'international zone' and Ceuta and Melilla into a 'special zone'<sup>298</sup> under French, Spanish and British control<sup>299</sup>. In May, 1926, the Republic of Rif fell. Abd el Krim, elected President of the Republic, went into exile and the Republic ceased to exist.

The Moroccan Action Committee, formed in 1934, demanded a national parliament and government, while the National Reform Party (pro-French) favoured absolute powers for the Sultan. Further, the National Movement Party (anti-French) demanded parliamentary form of government and the Istiqlal Party envisaged monarchy. The French exiled Sultan Mohammed V and banned the Istiqlal Party in 1953, but the enactment of the Loi cardre<sup>300</sup> (the Framework Law) led to the declaration of independence of Morocco on March 2, 1956. The "Spanish zone of Morocco (a strip) was turned over to Moroccan control"<sup>301</sup> in April, 1956, and "the international

295. Ibid.

296. Ibid., p. 1712.

297. Ibid., p. 1871.

298. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 524.

299. E.A. Boating, n. 280, p. 94.

300. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 487.

301. E.A. Boating, n. 280, p. 96.



status of the Tangier zone was abolished<sup>302</sup> on October 29, 1956.

Morocco became an active member of the Non-aligned Movement at its 1961 Cairo meeting, which supported Morocco's lawful right over Ifni. Ifni was ceded<sup>303</sup> to Morocco in January, 1969. However, despite demand for freedom, "Ceuta and Metilla on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco still remain in Spanish hands"<sup>304</sup>.

In July, 1974, a campaign to annex Spanish Sahara (apart from the strip ceded in 1958) and Spanish North Africa (comprising a number of small enclaves on Morocco's Mediterranean coast) was initiated. King Hassan II, who succeeded to power in February, 1961, and foiled several attempts of coup and plot of his assassination<sup>305</sup>, ordered a "Green March"<sup>306</sup> of 300,000 unarmed Moroccan volunteers to occupy the region. Spain ultimately apportioned Spanish Sahara between Morocco and Mauritania on February 28, 1976. Due to constant infiltration of Moroccan forces in its part of Western (formerly Spanish) Sahara, Mauritania renounced its claim to it and signed a peace-treaty with the Polisario Front (PF). The PF, which had formed government-in-exile in Algeria, demanded establishment of a Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). Soon after announcement of Tunisia, Morocco captured the entire Western Sahara while the PF fought for independence, supported by the OAU and the non-aligned nations<sup>307</sup>. By early 1988, about 70 countries had granted diplomatic recognition<sup>308</sup> to the SADR.

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302. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 1861; see also The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 524.

303. "In 1968, Morocco integrated Ifni"; see The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 524.

304. E.A. Boating, n. 280, p. 96: On April 7, 1956, "she (Morocco) integrated the special zone without the ports of Ceuta and Metilla"; see The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 524.

305. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 1871.

306. Ibid., p. 1872.

307. Ibid. "In November, 1984, Morocco broke off diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia after Belgrade recognized the Saharwi Arab Democratic Republic" and on November 3, 1984, Morocco and Zaire left the OAU summit conference in Addis Ababa "to protest the presence of the Polisario Front"; see The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 524.

308. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1873.

After the visit of Israeli Prime Minister in 1978, US-Moroccan relations developed. In 1986, the two countries held joint military exercises. In 1987, the United States proposed to sell F-16 aircraft to Morocco and, in 1987, Morocco allowed the United States to resume partial activities. In 1988, Morocco's application to enter the EEC, made in the hope of improving trading links and getting greater support, was rejected on the ground that Morocco was not a European country.<sup>309</sup>

#### (5) TUNISIA

Tunisia, formerly a monarchy, became a French protectorate<sup>310</sup> in 1883. After the First World War, many political parties emerged. The Liberal Constitutional Party was formed in 1920, which changed to the Communist Party in 1925, and Neo-Destour (founded by Habib Bourguiba) in 1933.

After the Second World War, the earliest leaders of the Non-aligned Movement inspired struggle for independence when Tunisia became part of the French Union. The French Government made several economic reforms to lure the people to remain in their fold, offered minor participation to the Neo-Destour Party in the government and also allowed return of Habib Bourguiba, who had escaped and found refuge in Egypt. In the course of repression, the assassination<sup>311</sup> of Ferhad Hashid triggered off popular struggle with such an intensity that the French Government granted autonomy in 1955, and declared Tunisia an independent<sup>312</sup> State on March 20, 1956. On July 25, 1957, the Republic of Tunisia was proclaimed and the Monarchy was abolished.<sup>313</sup> Bourguiba was elected Prime Minister (later President).

France, after independence, retained her colonial control over Bizerta. In 1961, the Tunisian forces blockaded this French naval base demanding its evacuation. As a result, heavy firing broke out. NAM's

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309. Ibid.; see also The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 621.

310. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 2629.

311. Secretary-General of the General Union of Tunisian Workers.

312. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 703.

313. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 820.

Belgrade Conference (1961), attended by Bourguiba, demanded "immediate evacuation of French armed forces from the whole of the Tunisian territory in accordance with the legitimate right of Tunisia to the exercise of its full national sovereignty"<sup>314</sup>. In consequence, France evacuated<sup>315</sup> the port of Bizerta in 1963.

Tunisia was admitted to the United Nations on November 12, 1966. Tunisia is also a member of the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Tunisia continues to participate in the NAM summit conferences and meetings and contributes much to the cause of decolonization of dependent countries.

In January, 1980, the Revolutionary Movement for the Liberation of Tunisia (RMLT) attacked Gafsa. Soon, the French naval units and the Sixth Fleet dropped anchor in Tunis. The French and the US moves were condemned by the world public opinion. The NAM at its Delhi Conference (1986) "condemned Israel's barbaric armed aggression and terrorist attack on 1 October 1985 against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia" and "expressed deep distress at the heavy loss of life among Tunisian and Palestinian civilians and the damage to property"<sup>316</sup>.

The signing of the Maghreb Fraternity and Cooperation Treaty in 1983, between Presidents Bourguiba and Chadli (Algeria) settled their 20-year old frontier dispute. In 1985, on Qaddafi's proposal, Bourguiba and Chadli agreed to develop unity within the Maghreb region.<sup>317</sup> The three leaders met King Hassan of Morocco for the formation of a Greater Arab Maghreb, but the plan could not materialise as in September, 1986, two Tunisians and two Palestinians (PLO) were held by Morocco. However, Libya settled her disputes with Tunisia by paying US \$ 10 million as indemnities and restoring the frozen assets of the 30,000 Tunisian workers, who were expelled from Libya in 1985.

In March, 1987, Tunisia broke off diplomatic relations with Iran. Tunisia accused Iran of "subversive acts"<sup>318</sup> in Tunis, recruiting Tunisian Islamic Fundamentalists "to carry out terrorist acts abroad" and, thus,

314. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 7.

315. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 2629.

316. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n.43, p. 243.

317. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 2631.

318. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 773.

to "undermine Tunisian relations with friendly states"<sup>319</sup> and of plotting to overthrow President Bourguiba.

In March, 1988, the National Assembly abolished the post of 'President-for-Life' and fixed the maximum age at 70 years. President Bourguiba, being of 85 years age, retired.<sup>320</sup> In April, 1988, Abu Jihad, PLO military commander, was assassinated in Tunis by the Israelis, who were backed by the USA as, in 1985, when they attacked the PLO headquarters in Tunis, killing 72 persons due to murder of three Israelis in Cyprus.

(C) OTHERS

(1) CYPRUS

In 1878, Great Britain took possession of Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire with an assurance to defend the island from Tsarist Russia. The Treaty of Lausanne, in 1923, turned it into a British colony.<sup>321</sup> Cyprus, situated 60 km<sup>322</sup> south of Turkey, is the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea, having a population roughly 620,000 (1979 census) - 78% of Greek origin, 17.5% of Turkish descent, and others of different ethnic origins. In 1931, the British Government expelled the leaders of the Greek Orthodox Church, who led a movement for unification of Cyprus with Greece (Enosis).

After the Second World War, Enosis rose again and Archbishop Makarios III was appointed Head of the Greek Orthodox Church. In 1950 referendum, 95.7% people voted for merger with Greece and self-determination,<sup>323</sup> which was rejected by Britain. In consequence, in 1955, an organization of armed insurgents, EOKA, led by Archbishop Makarios III, caused heavy loss to the Government. The Cypriot Communist organization, AKEL, also fought heroically against the foreign rulers. To suppress the insurgents, the Government encouraged the Turks' organisational activity, 'Volcano', and in March, 1956, banished Archbishop Makarios

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319. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p.2630.

320. Ibid., p. 2631.

321. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 191.

322. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 187; see also The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. I, p. 839.

323. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 191.

and three members of the Enosis<sup>324</sup>. The relations between the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots became quite strained.

According to an agreement signed on February 19, 1959, by the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey, and the "representatives of the Greek and Turkish populations"<sup>325</sup>, the island was proclaimed a Republic of Nicosia on August 16, 1960, with Makarios, the Greek President, and a Turkish Vice-President, preserving the right of intervention of the signatories.<sup>326</sup> Cyprus became a member of the United Nations on September 20, 1960.<sup>327</sup> Cyprus is also a member of the British Commonwealth and the Council of Europe.

The Greek Christians, who were in majority, were instigated by the 'fascist junta' and 'the NATO powers', who wanted to "convert Cyprus into a military base" to establishing a unitary state<sup>328</sup> for the whole island, while the Turks demanded some form of federation.<sup>329</sup> Since the 1963 amendment to the constitution, introduced by President Makarios, could have reduced the Turkish Cypriot autonomy, the conflict became irreconcilable. Either community got military aid from its mother country. The National Front, a Rightist organization, committed numerous acts of terrorism and President Makarios dismissed a number of Greek officers of the National Guard, who, on July 15, 1974, staged a coup against Makarios government, assisted by the Greek military junta and the US intelligence Services.<sup>330</sup>

Since the Turks withdrew from the central government, serious communal fighting occurred in 1964. As a result, a UN Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) kept the two communities apart. On July 15, 1974, a military coup deposed Makarios and appointed Nicos Sampson, an extremist Greek Cypriot and EOKA terrorist. Makarios escaped from the island, but returned in December and resumed the Presidency.

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324. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 839.

325. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 187.

326. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 191.

327. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 187.

328. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 839.

329. Ibid.

330. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 191.

On July 20, 1974, the Turks occupied the northern part of Cyprus, bombed Nicosia and expelled 200,000 Greek Cypriots from their homes and on February 13, 1975, proclaimed the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus.<sup>331</sup> In 1974, the UN force intervened and divided the island by a "Green Line"<sup>332</sup> (Attila Line).

In August, 1977, President Makarios died and was succeeded by President Spyros Kyprianou, who followed Makarios's policy i.e. to struggle for re-unification of the island. Though the U. N. General Assembly (29th Session) called for "the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, respect for its non-alignment, withdrawal of all military forces from the country and an end to foreign interference, as well as for a solution of the refugee problem", several rounds of talks between the leaders of the two ethnic communities failed to reach a positive agreement. In fact, the island is being used as "a pawn in the game played in the region by NATO"<sup>333</sup>. Though UNFICYP minimized the violence, it could not contribute to a total solution of the problem.<sup>334</sup>

In September, 1980, the Turkish Cypriots offered "to hand back 3% - 4% of the 35% of the area of Cyprus which they controlled, and also to resettle 40,000 of the 200,000 refugees", who had fled in 1974 from the north. While the Turkish Cypriots want "equal status with equal representation in government and strong links with the mother country", the Greeks favour a strong central government and "object to any disproportionate representation for the Turkish community"<sup>335</sup>. In November, 1981, the UN Plan envisaged a "federal council, an alternating presidency and the allocation of 70% of the island to the Greek community", but it could not be implemented as the Greek Prime Minister called for the withdrawal of all Greek and Turkish forces,<sup>336</sup> and an international conference rather than intercommunal talks.

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331. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 839; see also The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 316.

332. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 192.

333. Ibid.

334. Harold K. Jacobson, Networks of Interdependence (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1979), p. 199.

335. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. I, p. 839.

336. Harold K. Jacobson, n. 334, p. 199.

In June, 1981, Rauf Denktash in the Turkish Cyprus, and in February, 1983, Kyprianou in the Greek Cyprus returned to power as Presidents. Their several rounds of talks failed to bring them to an agreement. On November 15, 1983, the TFSC unilaterally declared an independent "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus"<sup>337</sup> (TRNC) with Denktash as President. Like the TFSC, the TRNC was recognised by Turkey only.

The Greek Cyprus signed an agreement with the European countries on October 19, 1987, to achieve "full customs union", which is an important landmark in Cyprus's relations with the EC.<sup>338</sup>

The UN Security Council, on December 14, 1987, voted "to extend for a further six months (until June 15, 1988) the mandate for the UN Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus" (UNFICYP). On March 24, 1988, President Vassiliou (Greek Cypriot) rejecting an offer of a meeting by President Denktash (TRNC), said that "the only way the Cyprus problem should be breached was within the framework of the UN". He met Mrs. Margaret Thatcher on March 31, 1988, and demanded "withdrawal of the troops from the British sovereign bases of Cyprus".<sup>339</sup>

The NAM members played an important role against the policy of neo-colonialism of the West in Cyprus. Cyprus participated in the first meet of the Non-aligned Movement at Belgrade<sup>340</sup> in 1961. President Makarios also attended the Cairo Summit Conference<sup>341</sup> (1964), which, considering the problem of divided nations desired Cyprus "to achieve unity" by peaceful methods without outside interference or pressure. The participants called upon all States to "respect the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus" and appealed to them to "refrain from any threat or use of force or intervention directed against Cyprus and from any efforts to impose upon Cyprus unjust solutions unacceptable to the people of Cyprus".<sup>342</sup> In view of the Cyprus being a member of the United Nations, they said that the Cypriots were entitled

337. The Middle East and North Africa, n. 1, p. 318.

338. Keesing's, n. 326, April, 1988, p. 35850.

339. Ibid.

340. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 6.

341. Ibid., p. 28.

342. Ibid., p. 22.

to "unrestricted and unfettered sovereignty and independence" and had the right to "determine freely the political future of the country"<sup>343</sup> in accordance with the UN Charter. They recommended "the elimination of the foreign bases in Cyprus" and demanded "withdrawal of foreign troops from this country"<sup>344</sup>, except those stationed there by virtue of the UN resolutions.

The Havana Ministerial meeting of NAM Coordinating Bureau (1975) condemned the imperialist plots against the progressive people's government in Cyprus and asserted that the existence of foreign military bases imposed against the will of the people distorted economic structures and served the racist and colonial elements in the country.<sup>345</sup> The Ministers demanded implementation of the UN General Assembly resolution 3212 to end the dangerous situation in Cyprus and observed that "any aggression against the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus constitutes an aggression against the whole body of non-aligned countries, and a menace against their independence".<sup>346</sup>

The Lima Ministerial Conference (1975) supported "the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus" and, commending the efforts of the 'Contact Group of the Five', demanded "the urgent implementation"<sup>347</sup> of the General Assembly Resolution 3212 (XXIX) and the Security Council Resolutions 365 and 367, and "unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island" and also urged "negotiations between the two communities under the personal auspices of the (UN) Secretary-General".<sup>348</sup> The Conference also urged the "dismantling of foreign military bases implanted in the territories of the non-aligned countries by virtue of unequal treaties",<sup>349</sup> such as in Cyprus, and demanded safe return of the refugees. The Algiers meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1976) reiterated<sup>350</sup> the decisions of the Lima Conference in respect of Cyprus.

343. Ibid.

344. Ibid., p. 24.

345. Ibid., p. 131.

346. Ibid., p. 153.

347. Ibid., p. 146.

348. Ibid., p. 147.

349. Ibid., p. 150.

350. Ibid., pp. 181-82.



The Colombo Summit Conference (1976) commended the Secretary-General for bringing the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities on equal footing after a number of rounds of talks and emphasised that the two communities should adhere to the agreements<sup>351</sup>. The Conference also elected Cyprus as member of the Coordinating Bureau<sup>352</sup>. The New Delhi<sup>353</sup> and Belgrade<sup>354</sup> Ministerial meetings held in 1977 and 1978 respectively reiterated the earlier decisions. The Colombo Ministerial meeting (1979) welcomed the "10-point agreement" reached in Nicosia on May 19, 1979, between Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, and Denktash, Leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, and called for the "immediate withdrawal of foreign armed forces", "safe return of all refugees to their homes", and implementation of the UN Resolutions 3212(XIX) and 365 (1974) and welcomed the proposal of the President of Cyprus for "the total demilitarization and disarmament of Cyprus"<sup>355</sup>.

The Havana Summit Conference (1979) regretted that "part of Cyprus still remains under foreign occupation" and demanded cessation of all "foreign interference in its internal affairs". The Conference also deplored the arbitrary and unilateral measures taken in the occupied part of Cyprus "designed to change the centuries old demographic character of Cyprus"<sup>356</sup> and demanded respect for the human rights of all Cypriots and sovereignty and control over the occupied area of Cyprus. The Havana Ministerial meeting (1982) suggested that the Non-aligned Contact Group should accept the invitation of the Government of Cyprus and visit the Republic "in order to make an on-the-spot study of the situation"<sup>357</sup>.

The New Delhi Summit conference (1983) reaffirmed the earlier decisions of the NAM conferences and meetings<sup>358</sup>. The New York meeting of the Ministers and Heads of delegation of the Non-aligned Countries (1984) deplored the "unilateral declaration of independence of 15 November 1983

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351. Ibid., p. 198.

352. Ibid., p. 221.

353. Ibid., pp. 254-55.

354. Ibid., pp. 304-05.

355. Ibid., p. 378.

356. Ibid., p. 422.

357. Ibid., n. 570.

358. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n.43, p. 34.

by the Turkish Cypriot leadership as legally invalid", and, calling for its annulment, urged the UN Secretary-General to find a comprehensive solution of the Cyprus problem "for the achievement of a peaceful, just and lasting settlement in Cyprus"<sup>359</sup>. The Luanda Conference of Foreign Ministers<sup>360</sup> (1985), the New Delhi meeting of the Coordinating Bureau<sup>361</sup> (1986) and the Harare Summit Conference<sup>362</sup> (1986) reiterated the earlier decisions with regard to Cyprus.

Cyprus took active part in formulating the NAM policies. At the Belgrade meeting (1965), it favoured the Yugoslav initiative calling for an end of hostilities and unconditional negotiations in the case of Vietnam and, thus, sided with Afghanistan, India, Iraq, Kenya, Nepal, Syria, Uganda and Zambia<sup>363</sup>, while Mali and Cuba opposed the proposal because they did not like to antagonise America on this issue.

## (2) MALTA

Malta comprises five islands, Malta (largest<sup>364</sup>, Gozo, Comino, Comminoto and Filfla<sup>365</sup> (the first three are inhabited), situated in the Central Mediterranean Sea, 93 km (58 miles) south of Sicily, with La Valetta as its capital. Malta, confirmed by the Congress of Vienna<sup>366</sup> in 1814, as a British Crown colony, remained under the British protection until 1964. During the Second World War, the country withstood 12,000 Italian and German air raids and was awarded the George Cross in 1942<sup>367</sup> by King George VI.

Dom Mintoff, leader of the Malta Labour Party (MLP) since 1949, won the elections "with a platform of a decidedly anti-colonialist and

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359. Ibid., p. 119.

360. Ibid., pp. 182-83.

361. Ibid., p. 247.

362. Review of International Affairs, n.52, pp. 55-56.

363. Keesing's, n. 326, Vol. XV, May 29-June 5, 1965, pp. 20769-70.

364. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 466.

365. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 1799.

366. Ivo Dvorak, n.3, p. 466; see also The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 494; see also The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1799.

367. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 467.

non-aligned character<sup>368</sup> and became Prime Minister in 1955. In a referendum held in February, 1956, 76% of the voters favoured "integration" of Malta with the United Kingdom, as advocated by the MLP. But Dr. G.P. Olivier, leader of the Nationalist Party (PN) opposed it. Due to serious dispute, Mintoff declared emergency and suspended the constitution. However, in 1961, both the parties demanded independence and after the 1962 elections, Olivier became Prime Minister. Olivier's struggle for independence was supported by the non-aligned countries and Malta became an independent sovereign state within the British Commonwealth<sup>368</sup> on September 21, 1964, when Malta and Britain signed a Mutual Defence and Assistance Agreement, which allowed the British Government to retain a naval base at Malta and NATO presence to continue "for many years"<sup>370</sup>.

Prime Minister Mintoff, in 1971, with "socialist and nationalist aims" pursued "a policy of non-alignment"<sup>371</sup> and concluded cultural, economic and commercial agreements with Italy, Libya, Tunisia, the USSR, the EECs, the USA, China and others and received technical assistance, especially from Libya.<sup>372</sup> Mintoff government declared the 1964 agreement with the British and NATO powers invalid. Instead, Malta signed a new 7-year agreement (1972-1979) with Britain which raised the amount of rental payment to £ 14 million sterling per annum and also reduced the "freedom of movement"<sup>373</sup> of the foreign ships. As a result, "the British marines manning the St. Andrew's base, the warships anchored in the bay of Grand Harbour, and the warplanes, at the Madliena and Luqa air bases"<sup>374</sup> left the country. Mintoff's Labour Government ordered the NATO naval commander, Admiral Gino Birindelli, to leave the island, frustrated the US plan "to base in Malta a large part of its Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean"<sup>375</sup>. Malta settled her dispute with Libya over "oil drilling rights in the Mediterranean Sea"<sup>376</sup>.

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368. Ibid.

369. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 1799.

370. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 467.

371. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n.6, p. 494.

372. Ibid.

373. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 1799.

374. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 467.

375. Ibid.

376. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 494.

Malta declared itself a Republic<sup>377</sup> on December 13, 1974, remaining a member of the British Commonwealth. She adopted the policy of non-alignment and signed agreements "guaranteeing the country's neutrality"<sup>378</sup>. Prime Minister Mintoff joined the Non-aligned Movement as a member at the Algiers Summit Conference<sup>379</sup> (1973). The Lima Ministerial Conference<sup>380</sup> (1975) expressed conviction that "Malta's admission to the Group of 77 would strengthen the unity of purpose of the Non-Aligned Movement" and requested all NAM members to include Malta in all their discussions<sup>381</sup> "on matters of common interest".

Malta attended the Colombo Summit Conference<sup>382</sup> (1976) of NAM and its Belgrade Conference<sup>383</sup> of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (1978). The leader of the Maltese delegation stated his country's decision "to free itself from foreign military bases, by 31 March 1979, and to follow a policy based on the principles of non-alignment"<sup>384</sup>. The Conference pledged its moral, political and economic support<sup>385</sup> to Malta.

Malta played an important role in the meeting of experts held on February 13, 1979, with a view "to promoting cooperation in the region of the Mediterranean in the economic, scientific and cultural fields" and "transforming this region into a zone of peace"<sup>386</sup>.

Malta participated in NAM's Colombo Ministerial meeting<sup>387</sup> (1979) and its Havana Summit Conference<sup>388</sup> (1979). These conferences considered the withdrawal of foreign military bases from Malta as a victory of the Non-aligned Movement and a "long-range contribution to the establishment

377. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol. II, p. 1799.

378. Ibid., p. 1800.

279. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 120.

380. Ibid., p. 141.

381. Ibid., pp. 152 and 163.

382. Ibid., pp. 189 and 247.

383. Ibid., p. 295.

384. Ibid., p. 296.

385. Ibid., p. 341.

386. Ibid., p. 312.

387. Ibid., p. 269.

388. Ibid., p. 401.

of a zone of security, peace and cooperation in the Mediterranean" and also requested the member nations to "provide such guarantees as are being requested"<sup>389</sup> by Malta to preserve its sovereignty. The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) affirmed Malta's 'status of neutrality'<sup>390</sup> "strictly founded on the principles of non-alignment".

In May, 1987, Dr. Fenech Adami became Prime Minister and declared that "his Government, while it intended to retain Malta's non-aligned status and its links with Libya, would seek closer relations with the USA and other Western countries, and would apply for full membership of the <sup>393</sup>EEC".

### (3) YUGOSLAVIA

The present territory of Yugoslavia, ruled by Turks between the beginning of the fourteenth century and 1912, when Montenegro and Serbia in an alliance with Greece defeated Turkey in the Balkan War, now having an estimated population of 23,270,000 (1986 census), is a union of six Republics - Serbia (Vojvodina and Kosvo - Socialist autonomous provinces), Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mecedonia and Montenegro, with two-fifths of the population belonging to Orthodox Churches, and one-third members to the Roman Catholic Church and a large Muslim community.<sup>393</sup>

In July, 1917, Serbia and the South Slavs signed a pact and merged into a unitary state with a monarch at its head.<sup>394</sup> After the First World War, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed on December 4, 1918, and Prince Alexander (Serbian) became King in August, 1921.<sup>395</sup> There were bitter disputes between the Serbs and the Croats. The King carried out a large-scale arrests and murder of the Communists and opponents of the pan-Serbian hegemony.<sup>396</sup> The King changed the name of the

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389. Ibid., p. 422.

390. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n.43, p. 34.

391. The Europa Year Book, n.5, Vol.II, p.1799; see also The Middle East and North Africa, n.1, p. 621.

392. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, pp. 764-65.

393. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol.II, p. 3075.

394. Ibid.

395. Ibid.; see also The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 954.

396. Ibid.

country to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia<sup>397</sup> in October, 1929. In October, 1934, Alexander was assassinated by the Croatian extremists in Paris and his brother Prince Paul assumed power. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY), founded in 1919, was banned in 1920. It emerged with a new vigour with Josip Broz Tito as its General Secretary in 1937.

In 1939, Croatia was granted internal autonomy, while Prince Paul decided to join the Tripartite Pact of the Axis Powers on March 25, 1941, under strong pressure from Germany. As the CPY appealed to the people to oppose the pact, violent demonstrations and strikes resulted. On March 27, 1941, in a coup led by pro-Western<sup>398</sup> air force officers "replaced Paul" with the "17-year-old King Peter"<sup>399</sup> and established a pro-Allied government. In April, German, Italian and Bulgarian forces invaded and quickly overran the country, banishing the Royal family. A government in exile was formed by the Royalists.

Two main parties emerged to resist the invaders : Yugoslav Army of the Fatherland (pro-Royalist), called "Chetniks", which aimed to re-establish Kingship, and the National Liberation Army (anti-Royalist and anti-Fascist), called "Partisans", led by the CPY under General Tito (later Marshal). Their differences grew into a civil war. As the Partisans gained victory, the Allied help shifted from the Chetniks to the Partisans. However, on November 29, 1943, the Partisans proclaimed their own government in the liberated areas and, on November 29, 1945,<sup>400</sup> Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY) was proclaimed with Tito as Prime Minister. In November, 1952, the CPY was renamed as the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). In 1953, according to a new constitution brought in force, Tito was elected President. He held the post until his death in May, 1980. On April 7, 1963, the country was renamed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia<sup>401</sup> (SFRY).

397. Ibid.

398. Ivo Dvorak, n. 3, p. 765.

399. The Europa Year Book, n. 5, Vol. II, p. 3075.

400. Ibid.

401. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 6, p. 954.

Tito was one of the founding fathers of the Non-aligned Movement. He toured almost all the non-aligned countries in 1955 and 1956 and met Nehru, Nasser, Sukarno and Nkrumah. The five<sup>402</sup> initiated the idea of convening the first conference of non-aligned states, which was held at Belgrade in 1961.

Since Yugoslavia and Egypt both were small states, threatened by big powers, the former felt closer to the latter during the tripartite invasion of Suez, while Yugoslavia was seriously threatened by the Soviet invasion of Hungary. Further, Yugoslavia was a member of the UN Security Council in 1956, it was able to propose the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution and, circumvent the British and French vetoes and succeeded in putting the Suez crisis on the UN General Assembly agenda. As a result, the UN Emergency Force<sup>403</sup> (UNEF) forced the British and French troops out of Egypt. Further, on the Hungarian crisis, relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, though markedly strained, did not "diminish the desire to influence ideology in the Soviet Union"<sup>404</sup>. Thus, till 1961, Yugoslavia's foreign policy was not 'non-alignment', but 'peaceful co-existence'. It was at Belgrade in 1961, that the ideas of 'co-existence' and 'non-alignment'<sup>405</sup> welded together.

India and Yugoslavia both launched the idea of non-alignment at about the same time, but at the Belgrade Summit Conference (1961), Tito's idea prevailed and was included in the 'Declaration'. The Panchsheel of India was ignored.

In 1960, Tito called a meeting of Nehru, Nasser, Nkrumah and Sukarno at New York, which is called the first meeting of the Non-aligned<sup>406</sup>.

402. Lazar Mojsov, Dimensions of Non-Alignment (Belgrade: 1981), p.93.

403. See for further details regarding supply of troops to UNEF by India and Yugoslavia, G. Rosner, The United Nations Emergency Force (Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 122-23.

404. Peter Willetts, n. 69, p. 5.

405. Tito's Address to the Federal Assembly, 7th March, 1955; see Review of International Affairs, No. 474, n. 52, January, 1970, Documentation Section, pp. 1-2. See also Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Cairo, October 5-10, 1964 (Cairo: Ministry of National Guidance, Information Administration, n.d.).

406. The UAR and the Policy of Non-Alignment (Cairo: U.A.R. State Information Service, n.d.), p. 22; see also L. Mates, Non-Alignment: Theory and Current Policy (New York: Oceana, Dobbs Ferry, 1972), p. 228.

They urged the American President and the Soviet Chairman "to renew their contacts interrupted recently<sup>407</sup>".

Tito improved relations with the West as well as with the developing countries, especially China. He adopted his own independent policy. As a result, Yugoslavia was expelled from the "Soviet-dominated Cominform in June, 1948<sup>408</sup>". Yugoslavia maintaining its self-determination, opposed the Soviet intervention in the Hungarian revolt of 1956, her invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, her support for the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and her involvement in Afghanistan in 1979. Despite these, Yugoslavia's relations with the USSR are cordial and, in March, 1988, the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev paid an official visit to Yugoslavia<sup>409</sup>.

### CONCLUSION

The Non-aligned Movement played an important role in destabilising the foreign domination in the Middle East, North Africa and the Mediterranean region. Before the first Summit of the NAM in 1961, the sovereign independent states were Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Tunisia. Algeria, Cyprus, Iraq, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, UAR (Syria and Egypt), Yemen and Yugoslavia joined the NAM at Belgrade in 1961. These countries had bilateral relations with the UAR and Yugoslavia. In 1958, Jordan proclaimed a federal union with Iraq known as Arab Federation which proved abortive. Kuwait, which became independent in 1961, joined the NAM at the Cairo Summit in 1964, along with Jordan, Libya and Syria. Algeria declared her independence on September 25, 1962. YAR came into existence on September 26, 1962, and the PDRY on November 30, 1967. PDRY joined the NAM at the Lusaka Summit in 1970. The NAM helped the freedom struggles and Malta became independent on September 21, 1964. Oman on July 23, 1970, Bahrain on August 15, 1971, Qatar on September 3, 1971, and UAE on December 2, 1971. These joined the NAM at the Algiers Summit in 1973. PLO was admitted to the NAM in 1976. Iran joined the Movement at the Havana Summit in 1979. So, it may be seen that all nations, except Palestine, are now independent in this region.

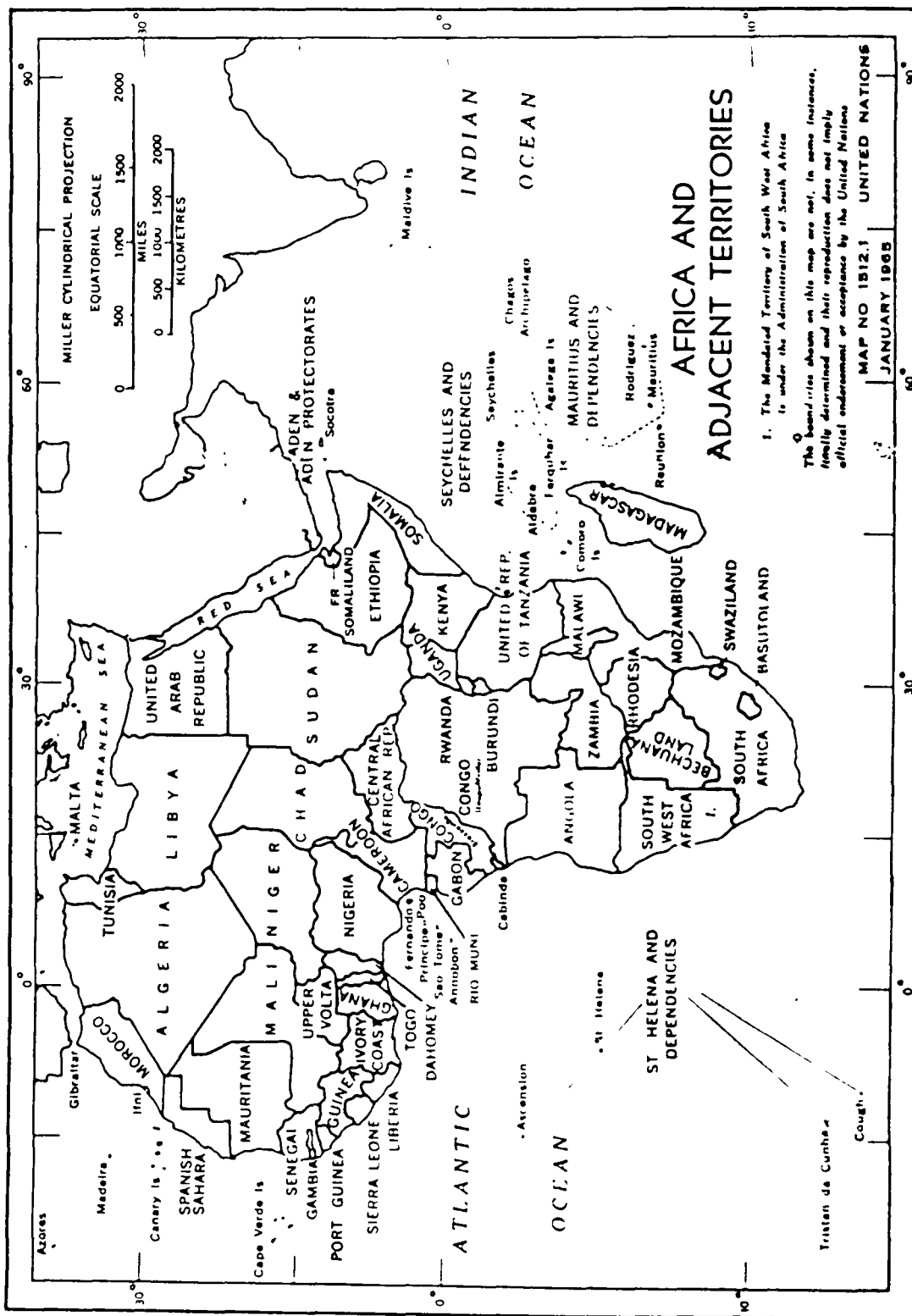
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407. U.N. Document A/4522, Text in Official Records, 15th Session, Plenary Meetings, p. 289.

408. The Europa Year Book, n.4, Vol. II, p. 3075.

409. Ibid., p. 3076.





## CHAPTER V

### NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA

Africa, the second largest continent of the world, lies to the south-east of Eurasia. It has had many ancient civilizations such as the Egyptian and the Carthaginian. It was little known until the nineteenth century. Hence, it was called the 'Dark Continent'. The Europeans explored the interior parts of Africa during the nineteenth century. The natural wealth of Africa such as gold (in Transval, Rhodesia, Congo and Ghana), diamond (in Cape Province, Congo and Rhodesia), copper (in Congo and Cape Province), coal (in Natal, Cape Province, Transval and South Rhodesia), iron (in Algeria), lead (in the Atlas region) and salt (in Western Sahara) attracted the Europeans' attention. The Caucasians (Arabs, Berbers and Egyptians) inhabit the northern and north-eastern parts of the continent whereas the Negroes live in its west and south-west. Bantus (Zulus and Kaffirs) occupy areas south of the Equator, white Hottentots and Bushmen live in the Kalahari desert. The British, the Dutch and Indians have settled in the south. The population is dense only in Egypt, the Sudan, Morocco, Algeria and the fertile parts of South Africa.

Political development in Africa began in the early twentieth century. By 1914, practically the whole of Asia and Africa had come under the control of the European powers. Their exploitation made the African people poor, backward and illiterate. They became short-sighted and even unaware of the political developments in the world. Due to these handicaps of theirs the Europeans, who were far more advanced, hated the Africans and the Asians and believed that they themselves belonged to a race whose destiny it was to govern others. The African people were barred from high posts in business and government. They had to live far from the European localities and had no access to their clubs and hotels.

The Europeans preached equality and democracy but they established a segregational and dictatorial rule and denied basic rights to the local people. The African people could not brook these injustices very long and their movement against imperialism assumed transnational

dimensions. An intensive study of the political developments in Africa, with particular reference to the role of Non-aligned Movement in decolonization, is given below. This account excludes Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia, which have been taken up with the Middle East (in Chapter IV of the present work) as these countries are closer and have greater relation with the Middle East rather than with other parts of Africa.

#### (A) WEST AFRICA

West Africa comprises Benin, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana (formerly Gold Coast), Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Upper Volta and Western Sahara.

##### (1) BENIN

In July 1883, French protectorate was established over Petit Popo, Grand Popo, Porto Securo and Agoue. In 1894, the French colonised Dahomey and its dependencies. From 1934 to 1936, Lt. Governor of Dahomey was also the Commissioner of Togo. After the Second World War, Tito, Nehru and Nasir got the leaders of the colony freed and a number of political parties were established there when the French empire started declining. The nationalists demanded independence. In 1956, Defferre-Boigny Act (Framework Law) granted partial autonomy<sup>1</sup> to the French colonies. In the 1958 referendum, called by President de Gaulle, the people of the territory by a majority decided to join the French Community of Nations and proclaimed themselves an autonomous republic in the same year. On August 1, 1960, Dahomey became independent<sup>2</sup>. In November, 1970, the government proclaimed its Marxist-Leninist orientation<sup>3</sup> and in 1975, Dahomey was renamed Benin. The decolonization was welcomed by the NAM countries and Benin joined the Colombo NAM Conference<sup>4</sup> held in August, 1976.

##### (2) CAPE VERDE

Cape Verde Islands occupy a strategic position, being situated

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1. Two Dvorak, The Non-Aligned Countries (London: Harney and Jones Limited, 1982), p. 77.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Two Decades of Non-Alignment: Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1982), p. 187.

at a key point on the Atlantic coast. Five centuries of Portuguese colonialism brought new ideas to Cape Verde, but its people suffered from exploitation by the colonizers and there were continual drought in the colony, which killed about 210,000 people between 1901 and 1959. The Portuguese converted it into an air and naval base. Though this group of islands lies some 500 km off the western coast of Africa, its people could not escape the influence of the Non-aligned Movement. Consequently, the Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) emerged in 1956. After the overthrow of the Salazar dictatorship, the Portuguese declared it an overseas province of Portugal.

The Georgetown NAM Conference (1972) expressed full support for the struggle of the people of Cape Verde to achieve national independence.<sup>5</sup> The Algiers Summit Conference (1973) condemned the "worst forms of exploitation, oppression and destruction, inflicted by the forces of colonialism"<sup>6</sup> and commended the heroic struggle of the people of Cape Verde Islands, for independence and the PAIGC preparation to declare the State of Guinea-Bissau. The Conference further condemned Portugal's persistent refusal to grant independence to the Islands. It also denounced the NATO countries for supplying arms to Portugal. The Conference called upon all the members of NAM "to bring about by diplomatic means the expulsion or suspension of Portugal from membership in NATO"<sup>8</sup> until she granted independence to Cape Verde.

Due to pressure of the freedom struggle launched by the PAIGC, the Portuguese agreed to transfer power to the PAIGC. The Havana Ministerial Meeting<sup>9</sup> (1975) hailed the victory of the freedom fighters of this Portuguese colony. The Republic of Cape Verde came into being on July 5, 1975. The country joined the Non-aligned Movement in August, 1976, at its Fifth Summit Conference held at Colombo.<sup>10</sup>

### (3) GAMBIA

In 1888, Gambia became a colony of British West Africa. In 1889, boundary lines between Gambia and the French colony, Senegal, were drawn

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5. Ibid., p. 72.

6. Ibid., p. 95.

7. Ibid., p. 112.

8. Ibid., p. 113.

9. Ibid., p. 131.

10. Ibid., p. 189.

up. During the 1950s, under the influence of the spreading ideas of non-alignment and the decolonization process, political parties emerged and sought majority representation in the British Governor's Advisory Council. Consequently, the British granted internal autonomy to Gambia and it became independent on February 8, 1965, and participated in the informal meeting<sup>11</sup> of the Foreign Ministers of the NAM countries held in New York in September, 1969.

#### (4) GHANA

Sometime after 1901, the northern part of Ghana became a Crown Protectorate, and after the defeat of Germany in the First World War, Togoland and Ghana, both were joined with the Gold Coast, forming the state of New Ghana. With the rise of nationalism, political parties emerged in 1920, and African representation was introduced in the Governor's Legislative Council. Italy's invasion of Ethiopia (1935-37) intensified pan-African liberation movements in the British colonies of the continent. The Declaration of the Colonial People, drafted by Nkrumah and adopted by the Fifth Pan-African Congress at Manchester in 1945, demanded "immediate and unconditional liquidation of the colonial system of imperialism"<sup>12</sup>. Nkrumah, after spending twelve years in Great Britain and the United States, returned to Ghana and became Secretary-General of the United Convention Party of the Gold Coast (UGCC), which demanded "autonomy for the colony within the shortest possible time"<sup>13</sup>. He founded the Convention People's Party (CPP), which won the 1951 elections and he became the head of the first "responsible government"<sup>14</sup> of the Gold Coast. In 1952, Ghana was granted internal autonomy. On March 6, 1957, it achieved independence and on July 1, 1960, the Republic of Ghana was proclaimed. Nkrumah joined the First Summit Conference at Belgrade<sup>15</sup> in 1961, and became a very vigorous supporter of the NAM policy for decolonization.

#### (5) GUINEA (RPR)

In 1881, France established a protectorate over Fouta Djallon

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11. Ibid., p. 31.

12. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 249.

13. Ibid.,

14. Ibid., p. 250.

15. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 28.

and started penetration into the interior. A.S. Toure, the tribal chief, fought the colonialists for eighteen years in spite of the superior French army. In 1895, the French colonised New Guinea. In 1904, the French West Africa was constituted by joining Mauritania, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, New Guinea and Niger. Like other French colonies Guinea also became an overseas territory in 1946. As a result of the growing national awareness, created by the founders of the NAM, a number of political parties came up in the colony. In May, 1957, France conceded some autonomy under Loi cadre (Framework Law) by setting up government councils comprising Frenchmen and the local peoples<sup>16</sup>. In 1957, the Guinean Democratic Party (PDG) won the elections and Ahmed Sekou Toure became its Vice-President. In 1958, for the final liquidation of colonial system, Guinean youth movements were unified. As 95% of the people, in a referendum, opposed admission of Guinea into the French Community (earlier French Union) and demanded immediate independence, the Republic of Guinea was proclaimed on October 2, 1958<sup>17</sup>. Guinea became an active member of the Non-aligned Movement and has been taking parts in its deliberations since the 'Cairo NAM meeting'<sup>18</sup> held in June, 1961. In 1978, the country was renamed the People's and Revolutionary Republic of Guinea.

#### (6) GUINEA-BISSAU

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese had got hold of the territory. Later, the French, the British and the Dutch came into conflict with them. The local people, conscious of their exploitation, began to rebel against the imperialist domination. After the Second World War, under the influence of the political developments in Asia, they started their liberation struggle. In 1954, the people of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands joined hands to intensify anti-colonial struggle, under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral, who on September 19, 1956, founded the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). This party led the armed struggle against the colonisers and in 1961 planned direct action and sabotage operations against the Portuguese in the north and the south. From February 13 to 17, 1964, PAIGC held its first Congress in the liberated areas and

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16. Ivo Dvorak, n.1, p. 265.

17. Ibid.

18. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 1.

formed the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARP). President Tour<sup>19</sup> attended the NAM Summit Conference held at Cairo in 1964, and played an important role in the liberation movement of the territory. The Lusaka Summit Conference (1970) supported their struggle for independence and condemned Portugal for waging colonial war of suppression.<sup>20</sup>

The Portuguese unleashed a wave of repression. The war of liberation started and in 1966, the FARP liberated more than half of the colony. Portugal, being the poorest and most backward nation in Europe, was unable to bear the war expenses alone, which rose to about \$ 800 million annually. The NATO powers, especially the United States and Germany supplied arms to Portugal in the hope of controlling iron and bauxite mines in the country.

The Georgetown NAM Foreign Ministers Conference (1972) inspired the people of the territory to intensify their struggle for independence and welcomed the UN recognition of the liberation areas under the control<sup>21</sup> of PAIGC. Though the PAIGC's Secretary, Amilcar Cabral, was shot dead by the Portuguese secret service on January 20, 1973, the PAIGC's anti-aircraft missiles destroyed 36 Portuguese aeroplanes and held its second Congress from July 18 to 22, 1973, in the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau, and established a Permanent Secretariat.<sup>22</sup> The Algiers Summit Conference (1973) commended the heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau for independence<sup>23</sup> and noted that large areas of the colony had been liberated.<sup>24</sup> The PAIGC held its first Assembly at Boe on September 23 and 24, 1973, and proclaimed the independence of Guinea-Bissau. The Algiers meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1974) welcomed the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which was recognised by a large number of countries.<sup>25</sup> Ultimately,<sup>26</sup> on September 12, 1974, Portugal recognised the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

19. Ibid., p. 28.

20. Ibid., p. 53.

21. Ibid., p. 72.

22. Ivo Dvorak, n.1, p. 274.

23. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 95.

24. Ibid., p. 109.

25. Ibid., p. 124.

26. Ivo Dvorak, n.1, p. 275.

(7) IVORY COAST (COTE D'IVOIRE)

In 1889, the French established a protectorate in Ivory Coast and, in 1893, they turned it into a colony. The rebel tribes resisted those moves and could not be subdued until 1912. The people, inspired by the rising forces of Non-alignment, formed the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI) and the Democratic African Union (RDA). In 1956, Felix Houphouet-Boigny drew up the "Framework Law", under which the French gradually granted autonomy to its colonies. In 1958, the Ivory Coast was proclaimed an Autonomous Republic associated with the French Community and Boigny was appointed its Premier. In 1959, the Ivory Coast together with Dahomey (now Benin), Niger and Upper Volta formed a Council of Entente, which was later joined by Togo. Ivory Coast was proclaimed independent on August 7, 1960, and Boigny became the first President of the country.<sup>27</sup> Ivory Coast became a member of the NAM at the Algiers Summit Conference in 1973.

(8) LIBERIA

Between 1822 and 1892, some 16,400 former black slaves from the south of the United States (known as 'Americo-Liberians') were settled in different places along the Grain Coast under the patronage of the American Colonization Society. They were joined by some 5,700 Africans liberated from slave ships by the British and American warships. The Society bought a land of 12,800 sq.km in area from the local tribal chieftains. The area was colonised by the black colonists. In July, 1847, the people (former black slaves and Africans) held a Congress, elected Joseph J. Roberts as President, demanded independence and adopted a constitution and a flag similar to that of the United States.<sup>28</sup> During the Second World War, under a treaty, the United States stationed troops and constructed airfields in Liberia and, in 1944, it established permanent naval and military bases.<sup>29</sup> Liberia became a member of the NAM at its Cairo Summit Conference in 1964.

President William V. Tubman, who attended the NAM Cairo Conference (1964), died in 1971, and President William Richard Tolbert, who had

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27. Ibid., p. 341.

28. Ibid., p. 424.

29. Ibid., p. 425.



attended the Lusaka NAM Summit Conference<sup>30</sup> (1970) came to power. He participated in the Algiers NAM Summit Conference<sup>31</sup> (1973) and established ties with the United States. Liberia also participated in the Colombo Summit Conference<sup>32</sup> (1976) and Havana Summit Conference<sup>33</sup> (1979) of the NAM. As Tolbert continued to open the door of his country to foreign investments, the interests of great masses of her people suffered. As a result, disturbances occurred which Tolbert suppressed brutally, killing hundreds of men in street battles in Monrovia. On April 12, 1980, Sergeant Major Samuel Doe overthrew and executed Tolbert and established a government with a Council of People's Redemption, which now governs the country.<sup>34</sup>

#### (9) MALI

In 1892, the French colonized Upper Senegal completely and in 1904, they established the Union of French West Africa consisting of Senegal, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Senegal and Niger. Upper Volta was separated from Upper Senegal and what remained was named the French Sudan in 1920. Like most of the other French colonies, the French Sudan also assisted in the war efforts of France during the First World War.

During the Second World War, like most other colonies of the French West Africa, the French Sudan remained loyal to the Nazi government in Vichy until 1943, when the French Committee of National Liberation denounced colonialism. In 1946, a powerful upsurge of African nationalism followed the foundation of the African Democratic Union (RDA), which included nationalists from the French West Africa and the French Equatorial Africa, under the presidency of F.H. Boigny of the Ivory Coast. The Sudanese Union was led by Mamadou Konate, who died in 1956. He was succeeded by Modibo Keita, who was elected member of the French National Assembly. Under the Framework Law with the support of the Sudanese Union, slow decolonization of the territory began.

After a referendum in 1958, Mali was granted autonomy. As a result of the 1959 elections Keita returned as Prime Minister. This was the

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30. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 61.

31. Ibid., p. 120

32. Ibid., p. 246.

33. Ibid., p. 401.

34. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 425.

period when the Non-aligned Movement was gaining momentum. On June 20, 1960, the French Sudan and Senegal formed the Mali Federation, but due to differences between President L.S. Sengor and Premier Keita, it broke in August of the same year. On September 22, 1960, the territory became independent,<sup>35</sup> and Keita was elected President of the Republic of Mali. It joined the Belgrade Summit Conference of the NAM as a member in 1961.

#### (10) MAURITANIA

The French established their rule over the French West Africa in 1817, and over Mauritania in 1920. The Moors persistently resisted the French domination but were unsuccessful in their efforts. Morocco, which became independent in March, 1956, claimed sovereignty over Mauritania, claiming it to be a Moroccan 'province', while the French, in the same year, granted autonomy to it under the Loi cadre (Framework Law). The Mauritanian Progressive Union (UPM), founded in 1947, was supported by France, and was joined in 1956 by Ould Daddah, who later founded the Mauritanian People's Party (PPM) in 1958. The Non-aligned Movement inspired the Mauritanian people to aspire for independence, as a result of which Mauritania intensified its struggle against the French rule and was proclaimed<sup>36</sup> independent on November 28, 1960. It joined the Cairo Summit Conference of the NAM as a member in 1964.

#### (11) NIGER

The French colonized Niger by force in 1921. Inspired by liberation struggle of the people of Asian countries, a liberation movement started in this country. To counter its influence, Paris established a Union of Associated States, which gave Niger the status of an overseas territory with a National Assembly. Leaders of the Niger Progressive Party (PPN) founded in 1946, collaborated with the French as a result of which the Niger Democratic Union (NDU) brought about the fall of this party. The NDU renamed itself the Liberation Party (Sawaba) and joined the African Socialist Movement (ASM). The Framework Law gave Niger internal autonomy in 1957. The ASM demanded independence, but the French responded to this demand with fierce repression and

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35. Ibid., p. 462.

36. Ibid., p. 473.

persecution and forced the Sawaba President, Djibo Bakary, to resign and appointed PPN's Hamani Diori in his place. The PPN agitated for independence by "peaceful means", outlawed the Sawaba Party in 1959, and imprisoned its leaders. However, on August 3, 1960, Niger, along with ten other African states, obtained its independence<sup>37</sup>. It became an active member of the NAM when President Hamani Diori joined its Algiers Summit Conference in 1973.<sup>38</sup>

## (12) NIGERIA

The Berlin Conference (1884-1885) recognised different parts of Nigeria as areas of British influence.<sup>39</sup> In 1914, the north and south of the country were combined as the Protectorate and Colony of Nigeria. In the 1920s, the anti-colonial movement, led by middle class people, demanded representation of the local population in the Legislative Council of the country. The British introduced a system of "indirect administration"<sup>40</sup> by making certain concessions to feudal chiefs in the north, who opposed British colonialism strongly. In contrast, the south, highly emancipated, had five times more educated men than the north.

After the Second World War, increased unemployment and workers' strikes resulted in the birth of three political parties between 1945 and 1951. The objectives of these parties differed on regional basis. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), renamed the National Council of Nigerian Citizens, was a pan-African organisation, leading the people of south-eastern Nigeria. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) was conservative. It was dominated by the Hausa and the Fulani communities. The Action Group of the Yoruba (AGY) represented the people of south-western Nigeria. The NCNC and the Action Group strove for independence. As a result, the western and eastern regions of the south achieved internal autonomy in 1957, and the north got this status in 1959. After the elections, the Federal Republic of Nigeria, under the leadership of Tafawa Balewa, came into existence<sup>41</sup> on October 1, 1960. Nigeria participated as a member in the Cairo Summit Conference<sup>42</sup> of the NAM in 1964, and has been taking an active part in its activities.

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37. Ibid., p. 529.

38. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 120.

39. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 435.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., p. 536.

42. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.

(13) SENEGAL

The French completed the colonization of Senegal in 1890 and named it French West Africa in 1904. During the First World War, the Moors, who had been recruited to fight in Europe, rebelled against the colonial exploitation of their country. In 1948, the Senegalese Democratic Bloc, which was later renamed as the Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS), was founded. In 1957, the Marxist African Independence Party, which intensified the struggle for independence, was established. The Non-aligned Movement, which was then taking shape, supported this liberation movement. General Charles de Gaulle held a referendum, which resulted in the formation of the French Community in 1958, with an option to claim complete independence. All the French territories in Africa, except Guinea, chose to stay within the French Community. In 1959, Senegal joined the French Sudan to form the Mali Federation, which soon broke up. Senegal was granted independence on August 20, 1960, and joined the Non-aligned Movement at its Cairo Summit Conference in 1964.<sup>43</sup><sup>44</sup> It has since been an active member of the organisation.

(14) SIERRA LEONE

In 1896, the territory was made a British protectorate. The British administered an indirect government through tribal chiefs. The leaders of the NAM inspired the people of the country to fight for their independence. As a result, the British granted some political concessions to them. In 1945, a new constitution was granted to the country and political parties were allowed to function. The Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), founded in 1951, favoured collaboration with the British. Siaka Stevens founded the All People's Congress (APC) in 1960. Sierra Leone became independent<sup>45</sup> on April 27, 1961. She participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference in 1964<sup>46</sup> and has been active member of the Movement since then.

(15) TOGO

During the First World War, the British and the French, having occupied this German "model colony", administered the western and the

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43. Ivo Dvorak, n.1, p. 611.

44. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.

45. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 627.

46. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.

eastern region respectively. The inhabitants of the country opposed this division. The National Congress of West Africa and the Circle of Friends of France demanded their reunification, but the movement of the people was brutally crushed by the French during 1935 and 1936. The "Cry of Togo" condemned the repression. The Committee for Togolese Unity (CUT), led by Sylvanus Olimpio demanded reunification, while the Togolese Progressive Party (PTP), led by Grunitzky - a French tool, wanted the country to be associated with the French Union. In 1956, through a plebiscite, the British Togo (western part) opted for union with the Gold Coast (now Ghana). The French Togo (eastern part) became an autonomous republic within the French Union. However, as the United Nations did not accept this arrangement, an election was held in April, 1958, which was won by the CUT and Olimpio became Prime Minister. The independence of Togoland was proclaimed<sup>47</sup> on April 27, 1960. Togo participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference<sup>48</sup> in 1964, and it has since been its active member.

#### (16) UPPER VOLTA (BURKINA FASO)

In 1919, Upper Volta was separated from French West Africa, with which it had been united in 1904, and was renamed as Upper Volta. Many Africans had served in the French army during the First World War. These former soldiers emancipated the people and, in 1946, the Voltaic Democratic Union was founded, as a segment of the African Democratic Union (RDA), under the leadership of Maurice Yameogo. The Loi cadre (Framework Law) granted partial autonomy to Upper Volta. Elections held in 1957 were won by Yameogo. The movement of the Non-aligned countries inspired the struggle of the people of Upper Volta for independence and sovereignty. However, Charles de Gaulle offered to them to choose by referendum either to join the French Community or to retain the status of an overseas territory. He also offered to them the option of independence with all its consequences. Winning the elections of 1959, Yameogo became Prime Minister. The same year saw the foundation of the Republican Independence Party led by Nazi Boni, who demanded independence. In 1960, through a referendum, Upper Volta opted for independence and so France<sup>49</sup> made it free on August 5, 1960. The President of the Republic, Sangouie

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47. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 694.

48. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 17.

49. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 725.

Lamizama, participated in the NAM Algiers Summit Conference<sup>50</sup> held in 1973. The country is an active member of the organization.

(17) WESTERN SAHARA

Spanish and Portuguese colonization of Western Sahara began in the sixteenth century. The Treaty of 1912, between Spain and France, which fixed their respective areas of influence, brought Sahara under the colonial rule of Spain. After the First World War the fires of nationalism swept across the region, after the Second World War, the people of the country began to agitate for independence.

The NAM Algiers Summit Conference (1973) considered it "urgent to put an end to the colonial presence in the so-called Spanish Sahara"<sup>51</sup> and urged to lend "an active support to the armed struggle of African liberation movement"<sup>52</sup>. The NAM meetings and conferences continued to assert the independence of Western Sahara and, encouraged by this, the POLISARIO stepped up the struggle for liberation. Although Morocco had recognised the national identity of the Saharan people, it staged what is known as the 'Green March' in November, 1975, and penetrated 15 km into the Saharan region, while Morocco withdrew its forces. However, under an agreement between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania, Western Sahara was ceded to Morocco and Mauritania. Mauritania received the region of Rio de Oro, and Spain the right to exploit the waters. In March, 1978, Ould Daddah was overthrown. In July, 1978, Morocco rejected the demand of the independence of the Western Sahara.

In the middle of the year 1978, economic crisis gripped the area. Maroc Soir, the official daily, noted: "the country was entering a new and acute stage after the feeling of unity, generated by the so-called Green March into the Sahara, had been dissipated"<sup>53</sup>. In August, 1979, Mauritania signed a peace treaty with POLISARIO and recognised the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and withdrew cooperation with Morocco. Moroccan military started military operations against the POLISARIO forces. In July, 1980, Moroccan planes bombed Mauritanian territory. Moroccan troops fighting POLISARIO forces became very weak. So Morocco started receiving assistance from the

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50. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 121.

51. Ibid., p. 95.

52. Ibid., p. 96.

53. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 489.

United States, France and Saudi Arabia to cover the expenditure of the costly war against the Saharan people. In January, 1981, the French Premier visited Morocco and extended military assistance to it, while the United States gave it military equipment.

The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) "felt concern over the risks to be peace and stability of the region in any foreign intervention and internationalization of the problem"<sup>54</sup>. The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) asserted that "the question of Western Sahara constituted a problem of decolonization and could only be solved when the people of Western Sahara exercised their inalienable right to self-determination and independence"<sup>55</sup>. To end the conflict between Morocco and POLISARIO Front, the Conference proposed "to create the necessary conditions for a just and peaceful referendum of self-determination for the people of Western Sahara"<sup>56</sup>.

However, the country is still struggling for its independence.

## (B) CENTRAL AFRICA

Central Africa comprises eleven states - Burundi, Cameroons, Central African Empire, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Equitorial Guinea, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe and Zaire.<sup>57</sup>

### (1) BURUNDI

From the sixteenth century until 1959, Burundi shared its history with Rwanda.<sup>58</sup> Between 1959 and 1960, about twenty<sup>59</sup> political parties emerged in the country, particularly the Unity and National Progress Party (UPRONA), which, under the leadership of Prince Louis Rwagasura, demanded independence. The Prince himself belonged to the family of Tutsi rulers who were supported by the (Belgian) administration and were

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54. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement: Documents of the Gatherings of the Nonaligned Countries, 1983-1986 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1986), Vol. II, p. 26.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.; see also Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXXVII, No. 875, September 20, 1986, p. 49.
57. E.A. Boating, A Political Geography of Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Rep. 1979), p. 134.
58. See for details Rwanda.
59. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 108.

thus able to maintain their aristocratic position". The Tutsi rulers were not pleased with the Belgian "policy towards the local chiefs", the objective of which was "to diminish or neutralise their power and rule through their own appointed functionaries"<sup>60</sup>, reducing the rulers to mere agents, while they wanted to regain their lost position and power. With the rise in the tide of the movement for political emancipation, they felt that their fall was imminent and, hence, they rebelled against the Belgians away. To counter the moves of the Tutsi rulers the colonialists sponsored a rival force in the form of the Christian Democratic Party. The Tutsi comprised<sup>61</sup> only 14 per cent while the Bantu constituted<sup>62</sup> 85 per cent of the population of Burundi.<sup>63</sup> However, the Tutsi Prince was supported by both the tribes - Tutsi as well as Bantu. As a result, the UPRONA won the elections held under the UN supervision from September 18 to 25, 1961, and Prince Rwagasore (son of a King Mwanbutsa) was appointed Prime Minister. On October 13, 1961, he was assassinated by pro-Belgian reactionary forces.<sup>64</sup> However, the country obtained independence<sup>65</sup> on July 1, 1962, and, subsequently, it was divided into the Republic of Rwanda and the Kingdom of Burundi. Burundi participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference<sup>66</sup> held in 1964, and has since been following the policy of Non-alignment.

## (2) CAMEROONS

In 1920, under the mandate system of the League of Nations, Britain got the western part of the Cameroon and the French took charge of the eastern one. In 1946, it became a UN Trust Territory. The principles of neutrality, peaceful co-existence and national independence advocated by the Non-aligned Movement inspired the people to start a movement to overthrow the foreign yoke; but the upsurge of nationalism was brutally suppressed by the colonialists who indulged in large scale massacre of the people in 1955. They banned the Cameroon Peoples' Party

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60. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 152.

61. Sometimes called also Watutsi who constituted the feudal system in the country, which still persists.

62. Sometimes called Hutu or Bahutu, who came in the country before Batutsi tribes.

63. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 152.

64. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 109.

65. Ibid.

66. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.



which started armed struggle and guerilla warfare against the French regime and took refuge in forests. The eastern Cameroons achieved independence on January 1, 1960, the northern part of which joined the Federation of Nigeria while the south preferred to establish the United Republic of Cameroon. The Republic joined the Cairo NAM Summit Conference in 1964. The United Republic of Cameroon was proclaimed on May 20, 1972.<sup>67</sup>

### (3) CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

In 1885, the Berlin Conference confirmed France in her possession of the French Equatorial Africa. The French suppressed the uprisings of the Baya tribe and had by 1910, settled themselves in the territory. The Ubangi peoples continued their fight against the French occupation for over thirty years. The nationalists, inspired by the movement of non-aligned countries, founded the Movement for the Social Emancipation of Black Africa (MESAN), led by Boganda. The colony, accepting General de Gaulle's offer in 1958, opted for the status of an autonomous republic within the French Community rather than that of a fully independent state. It was named the Central African Republic, with Boganda as Prime Minister, who died on March 29, 1959, in an accident under suspicious<sup>68</sup> situation. His nephew, David Dacko, who succeeded him, adopted an openly<sup>69</sup> pro-French policy, which led to the formation of the Movement for the Democratic Evolution of Central Africa (MEDAC), under the leadership of Abel Goumba. Dacko imprisoned its leaders since they followed the principles of Boganda. The colony became independent<sup>70</sup> on August 13, 1960. A Minister of the Dacko government participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference<sup>71</sup> in 1964.

### (4) CHAD

By the end of the nineteenth century, the French, after crushing the resistance of the people of Chad, established their control in the south of the country, while the Islamic north continued to resist them. During the First World War, Chad contributed to the French War efforts

67. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 115.

68. Ibid., p. 126.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 28.

and during the Second World War, as Felix Eboué supported de Gaulle against the Nazi Vichy government, he was appointed Governor-General of the entire French Equatorial Africa. Democratic and anti-colonialist ideas, spread by the Chad soldiers, led to the formation of the African Democratic Reunion (RDA) in 1946, under the leadership of F.H. Boigny of the Ivory Coast and the Chad Progressive Party (PPT), led by Gabriel Lisette. Being inspired by the NAM, the nationalist movement started gaining strength. To retain their hold over Chad, the French supported Boigny, who had broken off relations with the French Communist Party, but Lisette continued to lead the anti-colonial movement. Elections were held under the provisions of Loi cadre (Framework Law) and Lisette became the first head of the government of Chad. Ultimately, France granted independence<sup>72</sup> to Chad on August 11, 1960, and Tombalbaye was elected President. Chad participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference<sup>73</sup> in 1964, as a member.

#### (5) CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

In 1885, the Berlin Conference confirmed France in her possession of the French Equatorial Africa. In 1888, Gabon and Congo were separated and the former territory was renamed French Congo (or Central Congo). In 1913, Congo was again divided and was left with the territory of Oubangui.<sup>74</sup> Between 1902 and 1934, the local people were dispossessed of their lands and were forced to work for the construction of the Congo-Ocean Railway Line, which was built in ten years at the cost of thousands of lives. This was followed by continual revolts and uprisings against the colonial rule.

However, as a result of the Brazzaville Conference (1944), the people of Congo were allowed share in the local government; and in 1956, the country was granted 'partial autonomy'. Under the provisions of Loi cadre (Framework Law), in a referendum, Congo voted to be a French Community, but Ahmed Sekou Toure, leader of the Democratic Party of Guinea, demanded complete independence. After a long political agitation<sup>75</sup> Congo obtained independence on August 15, 1960, and the country was

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72. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 134; see also E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 144.

73. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, pp. 17 and 28.

74. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 148.

75. Ibid., p. 149.

renamed as the People's Republic of Congo (Brazzaville). C. Adoula, Prime Minister, and A. Gizenga, Deputy Prime Minister of Congo, participated in the Belgrade NAM Summit Conference<sup>76</sup> in 1961.

#### (6) EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Spanish occupation of Equitorial Guinea was recognised under the Treaty of Paris (1900). Due to the harsh Spanish rule and being inspired by the Non-aligned Movement the people of the territory fought against the imperial power during the 1950s. Faced with the rising discontent and upheavals, the Spanish Cortes granted the territory autonomous status on November 28, 1963, under the Basic Law. The government, which was set up after attaining this status in July, 1964, could not achieve the independence of the country. Therefore, a struggle for attaining independence was started by three main parties - the National Union Movement of Equitorial Guinea (MUNGE), the Movement for the National Liberation of Equitorial Guinea (MONALIGE) and the Popular Independence for Equitorial Guinea Party (IPGE). The parties and the people of Congo demanded complete independence. After a stormy election campaign, under UN supervision, Equitorial Guinea was granted independence<sup>77</sup> on October 12, 1968. The country participated in the New York NAM meeting<sup>78</sup> (1969) and Dar es Salaam meeting<sup>79</sup> (1970) and was admitted<sup>80</sup> as a member of the NAM at its Lusaka Summit Conference (1970).

#### (7) RIO MUNI, FERNANDO POO AND ANNOBON

Rio Muni, the mainland enclave, two estuarine islets of Corisco and the Elobays (Great and Small), two small volcanic islands -Fernando Poo<sup>81</sup> (now renamed Bioko or Macias Nguema Biyego), Annobon (now renamed Pagalu)<sup>82</sup> and some more islets<sup>82</sup> were formerly parts of Equitorial Guinea. The different political and cultural backgrounds of the people of these territories created serious problems, which caused political upheavals resulting in the demand for their independence which was backed by the NAM members. At last, Spain granted independence to these islets on October 12, 1968.

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76. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 11.

77. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 219.

78. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 31.

79. Ibid., p. 33.

80. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 797.

81. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 155.

82. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 218.

(7) GABON

The Berlin Conference (1884-85) recognised the French occupation of Gabon and the "people of Libreville, now the capital of Gabon, became French subjects" in 1893.<sup>83</sup> In 1910, the territory became part of the Federation of French Equatorial Africa under the name of Gabon. In 1946, France enacted a new constitution, under which Gabon became an overseas territory of the French Union. Ten years later, under the pressure of the liberation movement, which was inspired and supported by the NAM, a titular Government Council was formed with the colonial government at its head and with Leon M'ba as Vice-President. M'ba became head of the government when "the Territorial Assembly of Gabon proclaimed a so-called Autonomous State within the French Community".<sup>84</sup> On July 15, 1960, the provisional government signed a mutual assistance treaty with France, which continued to control the territory's defence, external affairs, economy, communications and culture. Inspired by the NAM, the people demanded full freedom. As a result, independence of the Republic of Gabon was proclaimed on August 17, 1960. Gabon participated as a member of the NAM at its Lusaka Summit Conference<sup>85</sup> in 1970.

(8) RWANDA

The Treaty of Versailles (1919) gave this German colony to Belgium and, in 1920, the League of Nations confirmed the Belgian mandate over it. In 1946, the United Nations transformed Ruanda-Urundi into a Trust Territory. Since the Belgians brutally oppressed the local population and exploited the natural wealth of the territory, people revolted against the Belgian regime, but their rebellion was crushed in 1928. The freedom movements of other colonies and the principle of Non-alignment adopted by many newly independent nations inspired the people to strive for independence. To pacify the people, the Belgians divided Ruanda-Urundi into two kingdoms, each headed by a Mwami, who had no effective power. In 1953, the Belgians established Superior Councils, each headed by the respective Mwami, who were pro-government. The purpose behind handing over political, judicial and religious powers to the Mwamis and the Superior Councils was "to give the impression

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83. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 145.

84. Iv Dvorak, n. 1, p. 237.

85. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 45.

that Brussels intended to give Ruanda-Urundi its first proper government and independence<sup>86</sup>". Next to the Mwamis in power and influence were the Tutsi "cattle raisers and warriors", further down the social ladder were the farming Hutu and at the bottom were the pygmy Twa hunters and foragers.

In 1959, the Rwandese National Union (UNAR) of the Tutsi, headed by Mwami Kigeri V, and the Democratic Association of Rwanda (RADER) were formed. To counter and crush the national movement, the Belgians propped up the Party of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Bahutu (PARMEHUTU) and provoked clashes between Tutsi and Hutu groups. In July, 1960, elections were won by PARMEHUTU with the help of fraud, violence and intimidation, in which it was secretly assisted by the Belgians. The UNAR refused to accept the results and continued the freedom struggle. On the pretext of maintaining peace, the colonialists carried out a coup and proclaimed a Republic under Belgian protection, which move was condemned by the United Nations.

The Tutsi formed only 9 per cent while the Hutu constituted 91 per cent of the population of the territory. The Belgians, in the name of administrative reforms, ensured to the Hutu a greater share in the management of the affairs of the territory. Such an attempt on the part of the Belgians came too late. However, it created hostility between the Tutsi and the Hutu people. Before the actual transfer of power, elections were held again in August, 1960. PARMEHUTU (the party of the Hutus) swept the polls and "the people in a national referendum decided to abolish the office of Mwami or Head of State"<sup>87</sup>, which for centuries had been a Tutsi preserve. The territory proclaimed its independence on July 1, 1962, and was divided into the Republic of Rwanda<sup>88</sup> and the Kingdom of Burundi. Rwanda joined the Dar es Salaam meeting<sup>89</sup> of the NAM in April, 1970, as a member of the Non-aligned Movement.

#### (9) SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

The Portuguese merchant Fernando Gomez discovered Sao Tome, Principe and Annobon<sup>90</sup> in 1970, in the Bight of Biafra and his countrymen

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86. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 581.

87. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 153.

88. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 581.

89. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 33.

90. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 136.

had completed their colonisation of these territories by 1493. In February, 1953, the Portuguese massacred more than a thousand people of the territory, which caused mass indignation. The emerging force of the NAM gave inspiration and strength to the people of these colonies and, in September, 1960, a Committee for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (CLSTP) was founded in Conakry, with its headquarters in Libreville, the capital of Gabon.

The objectives of the Cairo NAM meeting (1961) enunciated the "rights of peoples and nations to self-determination" and affirmed its support for "struggle against imperialism" and for the "liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism"<sup>91</sup>. This encouraged and inspired the people of these colonies to intensify their struggle for achieving independence. The declaration of the Belgrade Summit Conference (1961) that "all nations have the right of unity, self-determination and independence"<sup>92</sup> prompted the people to intensify their freedom struggle still more and CLSTP took part in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity in 1963. The Non-aligned countries spoke in the UN General Assembly in favour of the independence of the territory<sup>93</sup> in 1962. The demand for independence of the territory was also supported at the Lusaka NAM Summit Conference<sup>94</sup> (1970) and the Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned countries<sup>95</sup> (1972). In June, 1972, CLSTP changed its name to the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (MLSTP). The Algiers NAM meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1974) reaffirmed "the inalienable right to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples"<sup>96</sup> of the territory. In 1975, talks between MLSTP and Portugal resulted in the grant of independence to the territory. The Havana Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the NAM (1975) hailed the decisive victory of the freedom fighters of Sao Tome and Principe and paid glowing tribute to their liberation movement<sup>97</sup>. So, after about a decade of armed struggle, Sao Tome and Principe emerged as an independent nation<sup>98</sup>.

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91. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 2.

92. Ibid., p. 17.

93. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 593.

94. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 53.

95. Ibid., p. 70.

96. Ibid., p. 112.

97. Ibid., p. 131.

98. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 593.

on July 12, 1975, and joined the Colombo NAM Summit Conference in 1976.

(10) ZAIRE

The Berlin Conference (1884) recognised the Congo basin as the personal empire<sup>99</sup> of King Leopold II and the region was named the Belgian Congo. In 1908, under the pressure of outraged international opinion against Leopold's oppressions<sup>100</sup>, the Belgian government took over the territory from the King and began to administer it as a Belgian colony<sup>100</sup>. On October 18, 1908, Belgium adopted a law (Colonial Code), which was intended to legalise cruelty and exploitation perpetrated by Belgian corporations. After the First World War, several resistance movements were started in the country, the most powerful of which was the one led by Kigangu, who was imprisoned. Frightened by the repression, plantation workers, in 1931, fled to the forests and killed a Belgian officer. The Belgian troops killed hundreds of Congolese in front of the women and children. As a result 4,000 Congolese took up arms to drive out the Belgians.

Kigangu's death in 1951 in prison was followed by a number of political and religious movements, uprisings and armed attacks on the Belgians from a stronghold on Mt. Mitumba. After the Second World War, in 1955, King Boudouin visited Congo to stop the upsurge resulting from the emancipation movement. On July 1, 1956, the nationalists published the Manifesto of African Consciousness, which called for the independence of the country. On August 23, 1956, Joseph Kasavubu's Bakongo Association (ABAKO) demanded right to form political parties. The Confederation of Tribal Associations (CONAKAT), led by Moise Tshombe, suggested the white colonialists, while the National Congolese Movement (MNC), led by Patrice Lumumba, fought for independence. The Belgians settled in Congo opposed the independence movement and stepped up their repressive activities. Encouraged by the leaders of the Non-aligned countries the Congolese intensified their struggle for freedom. As a result, the Belgians held the Brussels Conference (1960), which set June 30, 1960, as the date for Congolese independence. After its independence, Congo (Leopoldville) was renamed as the Democratic Republic of Congo<sup>101</sup>.

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99. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 138.

100. For instance, between 1890 and 1904, about 3,000,000 Africans died due to illness and maltreatment.

101. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 776.

The Cairo Summit Conference (1964) expressed deep concern over the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Congo. The Republic participated in the New York informal meeting of the NAM (1969), its Dar es Salaam meeting<sup>102</sup> (1970) and the New York Ministerial meeting<sup>103</sup> (1971).

In October, 1971, the Republic was renamed Zaire<sup>104</sup> and it is an active member of the Non-aligned Movement since its independence.

### (C) EAST AFRICA

East Africa is the smallest of the political regions of Africa and is made up of three countries - Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda and two small islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.<sup>105</sup>

#### (1) KENYA

The British proclaimed East Africa (Kenya-Uganda) and the adjoining coast of Kenya and Zanzibar their Protectorate<sup>106</sup> in 1885 and 1890 respectively. In spite of protests of and resistance from the local population. In 1901, the East Africa Lands Order in Council created the White Highlands of Kenya. In 1904, "a number of African reserves" were established "mostly on less attractive land within and around the White Highlands"<sup>107</sup> marked by intense overcrowding, while the best lands (41,474 sq. km) were assigned to the Europeans. This caused widespread dissatisfaction among the local population, especially the Kikuyu. Further, in the same year, a Legislative Council was constituted representing the European settlers only.

In the 1920s, the Association of Kikuyu Youth (AKY) launched the first militant movement against the colonial rule to avert any possibility of Indians' control over the Highlands. In 1923, the British issued the famous Devonshire Declaration proclaiming the 'paramountcy of native interests', but this "failed disastrously to safeguard the

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102. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 33.

103. Ibid., p. 68.

104. Ivo Dvorak, n.1, p. 218.

105. E.A. Boating, n. 57, p. 199.

106. Ibid., p. 203.

107. Ibid., p. 205.



proper interests of the Africans<sup>108</sup>". The Government outlawed the AKY and took strong measures to suppress it. In 1932, the Land Commission recommended that "no Africans or non-Europeans should be permitted to hold land in the area and that any such persons already there should be removed" which generated countrywide discontent among the Africans.

After the Second World War, soldiers who had returned home after fighting with the Allied forces supported the AKY leader, Jomo Kenyatta, who demanded independence. The Kenya African Union (KAU) was founded in 1943. In 1952, Mau-Mau rebellion broke out, in which 15,000 Africans were killed and 80,000 were sent to concentration camps. The KAU was replaced by the Kenya African National Union (KANU), which won the April, 1980 elections. While the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), a pro-colonialist party, demanded a federated state, KANU called for a centralized power. However, Kenya, getting the support of the NAM Belgrade Summit Conference (1961), which demanded elimination of colonialism and imperialism in all their manifestations, continued its struggle for independence. Kenya became independent on December 12, 1963, and on December 12, 1964, the Republic of Kenya was proclaimed<sup>109</sup>. Kenya joined the Non-aligned Movement as a member at its Cairo Summit Conference<sup>110</sup> in 1964.

## (2) TANZANIA

In 1891, Germany declared Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika) a German Protectorate<sup>111</sup>. After the First World War, Tanganyika was placed under the British mandate and after the Second World War, it became a Trust Territory of the United Nations under Britain. Rising agitation for political emancipation led the Governor Sir Donald Cameron (1925-1931) to introduce a 'novel philosophy of indirect rule' and establishment of a Legislative Council composed of British officials, Europeans and unofficial Indian members, which set the country on the road to political development.

In 1929, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) was formed. The Mau-Mau uprising, which began in 1952, forced the British government

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108. Ibid., p. 206.

109. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 275.

110. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.

111. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 209.

to recognise "the need to concede to the Africans a fair and equitable share in the government"<sup>112</sup>. In July, 1954, the organisation was renamed Tanganyika National Union (TANU), under the Chairmanship of J.K.Nyerere, which continued the fight for independence. Tanganyika was granted independence<sup>113</sup> on December 9, 1961.

While Tanganyika was struggling for independence Zanzibar was also passing through political upheavels as a result of the independence movement inspired by the independent Asian nations. In 1956, two important political parties came up in the country. The Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), representing the ruling Arab minority, and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), representing the African majority as well as the Shirazi community of Persian origin. After the Second World War, Sultan Said exercised mandate over Zanzibar under the British rule. However, after electoral manoeuvres, ZNP took over power on December 10, 1963, and Zanzibar got independence. The government was a constitutional monarchy under Sultan Said. After a popular uprising on January 12, 1964, a new government was formed and a Revolutionary Council was established. Under an agreement, Tanganyika and Zanzibar were merged along with the islands of Pemba and Mafia and the newly established country was named Tanzania<sup>114</sup>.

The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar joined the Non-aligned Movement as a member<sup>115</sup> at its Cairo Summit Conference in 1964.

### (3) UGANDA ;

In 1896, the territory was proclaimed a British protectorate. By 1914, "the whole country was effectively under British administration and its boundaries were fixed"<sup>116</sup>. From 1900 to 1950, Indian settlers brought from their home country the news of its freedom movement. As a result, in the 1950s, political parties demanding decolonization were formed in Uganda. They included the Democratic Party formed by the "modernizing" Bagana petty-bourgeoisie, the Uganda People's Congress led by Milton Obote and supported by the ethnic minorities, the

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112. Ibid., p. 211.

113. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 685.

114. Ibid., p. 686.

115. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.

116. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 207.

intelligentsia and the peasants, which had a platform typical of the "Pan-African Socialism"; and the Kabaka Yeka ("Only the King"), a conservative party championing the Buganda monarchy. As a result of their freedom struggle of its people, inspired by the Belgrade NAM Declaration in 1961, the country gained independence on October 9, 1962.<sup>117</sup> Uganda participated as a member<sup>118</sup> in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference held in 1964.

(D) NORTH-EAST AFRICA

North-East Africa consists of the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and the Territory of the ~~Affars~~ and Issas (now the Republic of Djibouti), called the 'Horn of Africa'.

(1) DJIBOUTI

The British captured<sup>119</sup> Aden in 1839, while the French seized<sup>120</sup> Obock in 1862, and moved<sup>121</sup> to Djibouti in 1886. Conflict between the British and the French grew after the construction of the Suez Canal was completed in 1869. In 1896, France named the territory under its control 'French Somali Coast and Dependencies' and extended its rule to a number of interior areas by 1924. As a result of the Second World War, nationalist consciousness rose. Confronted with agitations, France conceded some reforms, giving the territory the status of an 'Overseas Territory' in 1947, and established representative councils of two ethnic rival groups - the Affars<sup>122</sup> and the Issas. Due to the rise of African nationalism under the influence of the wave of decolonization created by the Non-aligned Movement, the territory got some autonomy and political parties were formed in it. In 1958, President de Gaulle announced that the territory could opt to remain within the French Union as a colony or as an autonomous state or become independent. In 1964, the NAM meeting in Cairo demanded the independence<sup>123</sup> of Aden and the Protectorates.

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117. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 712.

118. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.

119. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 755.

120. Ibid., p. 198.

121. Ibid., p. 637.

122. See for details Chapter IV.

123. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 19.

The Republic of Djibouti joined the Non-aligned Movement as a member at its Havana Summit Conference held in 1979.

(2) ETHIOPIA

Under the Treaty of Ucciali (1889) with Ethiopia, Italy got some foothold in Eritrea and declared it an Italian colony in 1890. Italians also claimed Ethiopia as an Italian protectorate until they were defeated by the Ethiopian army at the Battle of Adowa in 1896. Subsequently, though the British, the Italians and the French recognised Ethiopia's sovereignty, they forcibly "divided it up into spheres of influence under a tripartite agreement"<sup>135</sup> signed in 1906. King Menelik II did not recognise this agreement, which was calculated to give the three powers the right to interfere in the internal affairs of his country.

On November 2, 1930, Haile Selassie I was crowned in Addis Ababa. In 1932, Italians invaded Ethiopia "using Eritrea as their spring-board"<sup>136</sup>. An Ethiopian complaint to the League of Nations, which it had joined in 1923, produced no result. France and Britain, however, announced an embargo on the supply of armaments to both parties, but this had no effect on the aggressive Italian policy of expansion. To avenge their defeat of Adowa, the Italians launched a "totally unprovoked attack" on Ethiopia in 1935 and occupied it within a few months, forcing the emperor to "seek refuge abroad"<sup>137</sup> until 1941. In 1938, the British recognised the Italian conquest. Though the League of Nations found Italy guilty, it did not impose any sanctions against it, as it was dominated by the western powers, which wanted to have some control over Ethiopia. The people's resistance, the assassination of General Graziani in 1937, Mussolini's declaration of war on France and Great Britain, invasion of the country by the Allied forces and fall of Addis Ababa in April, 1941, led to the signing of an Anglo-Ethiopian treaty in January, 1942, which brought Haile Selassie back to power. In 1952, the Italian colony of Eritrea was federated<sup>138</sup> with Ethiopia by the United Nations. The British left the eastern areas in 1954. Haile Selassie allowed BS base in Asmara.

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135. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 223.

136. Ibid., p. 226.

137. Ibid., p. 223.

138. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 227; see also E.A. Boateng, Ibid., p. 228.

The Emperor participated in the Cairo NAM preparatory meeting<sup>139</sup> (June, 1961), its Belgrade Summit Conference<sup>140</sup> (September, 1961) and its Cairo Summit Conference (1964). A number of NAM conferences and meetings denounced neo-colonialism and inspired movements for independence from foreign domination. As a result, the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces overthrew the Emperor in June, 1974.

In December, 1974, the Committee declared socialism as its political philosophy and launched a programme of nationalization in 1975. General Teferi Banti, President of the Provisional Military Government, participated in the Colombo NAM Summit Conference<sup>141</sup> in 1976.

In 1977, with the US and NATO assistance, Somalia seized some 320,000 sq. km. in Ogaden Province; but Ethiopia, with the assistance of the Soviet Union and Cuba, drove away the aggressors. In June, 1980, the Organizing Commission of the Ethiopian Working People's Party (OCPWE) reflected the unity of the vanguard of the Ethiopian revolution. In September, 1984, Ethiopia became a "Communist state with a ruling Marxist-Leninist party, and closely allied to the USSR"<sup>142</sup>. The Oromos rebelled against the Communist rule. The Oromos Liberation Front (OLF) wanted to create 'the People Democratic Republic of Oromio'<sup>143</sup>. It had 5,000 armed men on the eastern front and 500 on the western front besides 5,000 - 7,000 peasants organized into a People's Defence Force<sup>144</sup>. Efforts to get the EPLF, IPLF, OLF and other groups united have not yet made much headway.<sup>145</sup>

However, at present, Ethiopia faces in the main two problems - Eritrea wants to be recognised as a separate state and the Somali minorities, who are carrying on guerrilla activity, demand association with Somalia.

139. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 1.

140. Ibid., p. 5.

141. Ibid., p. 246.

142. The Times of India (New Delhi), July 6, 1984; see also The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), January 7, 1986.

143. The Times of India (New Delhi), July 6, 1984.

144. Ibid.

145. Ibid.

(3) SOMALIA

In 1886, the British occupied the northern part of Somalia and named the colony the British Somaliland. In 1884, the French established a protectorate in the country after gaining "a foothold at Obock on the northern shore" and named the territory the Somali Coast. Later, the French "transferred the capital of the protectorate to Djibouti". In 1905, the Italians constituted the Italian Somalia (to the south of the British Somaliland) including the area around Massawa on the Eritrean coast in the north "leaving the French in control of the tiny protectorate they had established around the port of Obock"<sup>146</sup>.

During the Second World War, fascist Italy seized the British Somaliland but, after the defeat of Italy in 1941, Eritrea as well as the British and the Italian Somaliland<sup>147</sup> came under British military administration. In 1950, the United Nations placed the Italian Somaliland under the Trusteeship of Italy "with the stipulation that it should be prepared for self-rule<sup>148</sup> by 1960". The French Somaliland remained under France. It subsequently became independent as the Republic of Djibouti.

In the Italian Somalia, the Somali Youth League (SYL), established in 1943, rapidly intensified anti-colonial movement with a powerful popular base. In 1947, the SYL asked the United Nations for the independence of the British Somaliland, which caused a breakdown of negotiations between the SYL and the British Administration. The British encouraged the tribes to form their separate organisations to oppose the SYL. Meanwhile, the wave of Non-alignment and independence spurred political consciousness in the country. In 1956, under de Gaulle's "Loi cadre", a certain degree of autonomy was granted to French Somalia. In 1958, when de Gaulle made his offer of independence, French Somaliland chose to remain with the French Union.

On June 1, 1960, Italy granted independence to Italian Somalia, and on June 26, 1960, Britain declared British Somaliland free, transferring the Northern Frontier District (NFD) to Kenya against the

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146. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 22.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid., p. 226.

wishes of the Somalians. Thus, "the southern sector of Somalia's border with Ethiopia to the point of intersection with Kenya border has still not been properly delimited"<sup>149</sup>, which has led to strains in Somalia's relations with Ethiopia and Kenya.

On July 1, 1960, following a plebiscite, the two Somalias formed the Somali Republic<sup>150</sup>, and on July 12, a new government was set up there. President Osman of the Republic took part in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference<sup>151</sup> in 1964.

#### (4) SUDAN

Sudan is the largest country in Africa. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain and Egypt began to exploit the legendary gold mines of the impoverished country. Between 1881 and 1885, Mehdi routed the British-Egyptian armies but, in 1898, they re-occupied Sudan. The British helped in the restoration of the country to Egypt under a condominium agreement (1899), with the provision of British share in the government and signed a series of agreements with France, Belgium and Italy to define the country's boundaries along the west, south and east.<sup>152</sup>

In 1922, when Egypt became independent, Britain maintained status quo in Sudan. After the Egyptian armies had mutinied against the British, an Anglo-Egyptian treaty was signed in 1946, which confirmed "the status<sup>153</sup> of Sudan in favour of British interests".

In 1948, the National Front called for a union with Egypt, while the Independence Front opposed it. In December, 1951, the Legislative Assembly demanded self-determination and on December 19, 1955, it called for immediate independence and declared the country as a fully sovereign Republic. It received formal recognition as a sovereign country from Britain and Egypt on January 1, 1956. Sudan joined the Non-aligned Movement at its Belgrade Summit Conference<sup>154</sup> in 1961 and attended its Cairo Summit Conference<sup>155</sup> in 1964.

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149. Ibid., p. 227.

150. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 637.

151. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 29.

152. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 221.

153. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 653.

154. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 11.

155. Ibid., p. 29.

(E) SOUTHERN AFRICA

Southern Africa consists of ten political divisions - Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Rhodesia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zambia.<sup>156</sup>

(1) ANGOLA

By 1915, the Portuguese were fully in control of Angola. Between 1910 and 1920, political parties were formed. In 1951, Portugal's dictator, Dr. Salazar, transformed the political status of the overseas territories from colonies to overseas provinces, while "illiteracy... and forced and contract labour continued to be exacted under the most inhuman conditions"<sup>157</sup>. The Party of the United Struggle of Angolan Africans (PLAU) founded in 1953, and the Movement for the National Independence of Angola established in 1956, united between 1957 and 1958, and formed the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). This new organisation demanded complete independence and carried an armed rebellion against the Portuguese rule from 1961 to 1974, when its "repercussions on Portugal's economy and on the morale of the Portuguese army culminated in the overthrow of the Portuguese government in Lisbon. The new government immediately started negotiations "to grant independence to the local population"<sup>158</sup>.

The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) condemned Portugal "for its obstinate refusal to recognize the inalienable right of the people ... to self-determination and independence"<sup>159</sup> and urged the member states to afford financial and military support to the freedom fighters of "the Revolutionary Government of Angola in exile", to break off diplomatic relations with Portugal and to appeal to the western powers to withdraw their aid and assistance to Portugal. In 1967, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) was founded under the leadership of Holden Roberto, and when his influence began to decrease, Jonas Savimbi broke away from it and founded UNITA in 1974 with the assistance of the South African regime.

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156. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 157.

157. Ibid., p. 193.

158. Ibid., p. 194.

159. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 19.



The Lusaka NAM Summit Conference (1970) reiterated the resolutions of its Cairo Summit (1964). The NAM resolutions and assistance to freedom movements inspired the people of Angola. The Georgetown NAM conference of Foreign Ministers (1972) encouraged the Angolan people "to intensify their armed struggle<sup>160</sup>" against the racist and fascist South Africa. The Algiers Summit Conference (1973) commended the heroic struggle of the people, praised their courageous struggle for independence<sup>161</sup> and observed that "enormous regions have been liberated and a new life is being constructed<sup>162</sup>" in the country. The Conference condemned the NATO Powers - "the United States, France, the United Kingdom and the FRG and Japan for continuing to extend assistance to Portugal in its colonial war<sup>163</sup>" and called on them to stop such aid.

In August, 1974, the MPLA guerilla forces founded the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA), which undertook to overthrow the Portuguese yoke in spite of the fact that FNLA and UNITA had foreign support. Portugal agreed to grant independence to Angola on November 11, 1975. Meanwhile, FNLA and UNITA, prompted by the Western Powers, opposed the MPLA in the transition to independence. As planned by the Americans, Zairean and FNLA forces, along with the South African and UNITA armies tried to prevent the independence of Angola by attacking the country in August, 1975. However, the MPLA, backed by the Soviet Union,<sup>164</sup> repulsed the invaders. The South African troops, with tanks and artillery, invaded Angola again in October, 1975, but with the help of Cuban forces they were repulsed and UNITA and FNLA were completely suppressed. Angola was declared an independent Republic<sup>165</sup> on November 11, 1975.

The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) expressed satisfaction<sup>166</sup> over the liberation of the country. The colonialists led a coup attempt in May, 1977, but the MPLA troops routed the enemies. In December, 1977,

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160. Ibid., p. 72.

161. Ibid., p. 95.

162. Ibid., p. 109.

163. Ibid., p. 113.

164. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 196.

165. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 41.

166. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 194.

Agostinho Neto, the founder of MPLA, was elected President. He adopted a socialist policy and thanked the Soviet Union, Cuba and other NAM countries for their assistance to his country. Angola became an active member of the Non-aligned Movement in October, 1964.

## (2) BOTSWANA

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Khama I of Botswana became a Christian because that was the only way left to him to save his realm as a British protectorate, while Cecil Rhodes thought of forming "a vast area of British influence running from the Cape to <sup>167</sup>Cairo". In 1910, its political future hung in the balance because South Africa claimed it its natural territory <sup>168</sup> as 25 per cent of its male population worked in South Africa.

The Non-aligned Movement inspired the people of the country to struggle for independence. Elections to the Legislative Council were held in 1961, to ten seats each for 3,200 Whites and 317,000 Africans in which no political party of the local population participated, although the Bechuanaland People's Party (BPP), led by K.T. Motsete and M. Mpho had been founded in 1960. The Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP), founded in 1962, by Seretse Khama, won wide support of the African tribes as well as the Whites. When Botswana achieved its independence on September 30, 1966, Khama became Head of State. The country joined the New York NAM Foreign Ministers meeting in 1969, and <sup>169</sup>started participating in NAM conferences and meetings.

## (3) LESOTHO

In 1884, Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) became a British colony. The British made the local chiefs Governors of their tribes and members of the Basutoland Council, which was established in 1910, with the British exercising executive power. In 1959, a constitution was promulgated and the British announced that "the country was under its protection and that it would not permit the self-proclaimed Republic of South Africa to govern <sup>170</sup>it". The National Party of Basutoland won the April, 1965 elections. Further, since the British attitude towards

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167. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 96.

168. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 175.

169. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 31.

170. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 419.

the political aspirations of the people became increasingly liberal<sup>171</sup>, the country obtained its independence on October 4, 1966, adopting the name Lesotho<sup>172</sup>. The country joined the Dar es Salaam preparatory meeting of non-aligned countries for the third Summit in April, 1970, as a member<sup>173</sup>.

#### (4) MALAWI

The British colonised Malawi in 1897 after crushing stiff resistance of the local population. The first struggle of independence of the people of the country was suppressed by the British in 1915. The African National Congress Party was founded in 1944. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, formed on August 1, 1953, helped the British crush the national movement in the region. However, in spite of severe repressive measures, the Movement of the Non-aligned countries inspired the people to intensify their struggle for independence. This, ultimately, forced the colonialists to grant greater representation of the people in the Advisory Council and to hold elections in April, 1956, which were won by the ANCP, led by H.K. Banda. After a number of rebellions, elections were held again in August, 1961, which were won by the Congress Party of Malawi. In consequence, in November, 1962, the British approved a new constitution and promised internal autonomy to the territory in February, 1963. However, the Belgrade NAM Summit Conference (1961) inspired the people to press for complete independence. In consequence, independence of Malawi was proclaimed<sup>174</sup> on July 6, 1964. Though the Malawian ambassador joined the Cairo NAM Summit Conference<sup>175</sup> (1964), Banda, who had become Head of the Government of Malawi, secretly backed the colonialists, refused to join the OAU and favoured relations with South Africa, suppressed Chiziza guerrilla forces and assisted Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique and racists in Southern Rhodesia.

#### (5) MOZAMBIQUE

The Berlin Conference (1884) recognised Mozambique as a Portuguese colony. After the Second World War, the country's ruler, Dr. Salazar, changed the political status of the overseas territories of Portugal from colonies to overseas provinces<sup>176</sup>. The Belgrade NAM Summit Conference

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171. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 176.

172. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 419.

173. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 33.

174. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 447.

175. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.

176. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 176.

inspired the people to fight for their independence. The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), founded in June, 1962, started armed struggle against repressive measures of the Portuguese in 1964.

The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) condemned the government of Portugal "for its obstinate refusal to recognize the inalienable right of the people of Mozambique to self-determination and independence"<sup>177</sup>.

In repelling the FRELIMO guerrilla attacks, Portugal was assisted by South Africa and its NATO allies. FRELIMO held its second Congress in June, 1968, in the liberated area of Niassa province in which it has introduced revolutionary changes. The President and founder of FRELIMO, E. Mondlane, was assassinated on February 3, 1969 at the instance of the colonialists.

The Lusaka NAM Summit Conference (1970) condemned the presence of South African forces in Mozambique, which posed a "further and continuing threat to the human rights and fundamental freedom". The Conference demanded their "immediate and unconditional withdrawal"<sup>178</sup> and called upon the member states to "extend their moral and material assistance"<sup>179</sup> to the people of Mozambique. The Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers of NAM countries (1972) fully supported the struggle of the people of Mozambique for achieving national independence.<sup>180</sup> The Kabul NAM meeting (1973) reiterated its earlier resolutions, while its Algiers Summit Conference (1973) noted with concern that Mozambique was subject to "the worst forms of exploitation, oppression and destruction, inflicted by the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism which enjoy the political, economic and military support of some western governments and international capitalism".<sup>181</sup> The Conference welcomed the fact that "enormous regions have been liberated and a new life is being constructed"<sup>182</sup> there and commended the people for their "heroic armed struggle for national liberation".<sup>183</sup> The war of liberation,

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177. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 19.

178. Ibid., p. 52.

179. Ibid., p. 53.

180. Ibid., p. 72.

181. Ibid., p. 95.

182. Ibid., p. 109.

183. Ibid., p. 112.

waged by the people of Mozambique, between 1961 and 1974, had "repercussions on Portugal's economy and on the morale of the Portuguese army"<sup>184</sup>. When the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal overthrew the fascist regime on April 25, 1974, the guerrilla activities were intensified in Mozambique and consequently Portugal granted the country independence<sup>185</sup> on September 7, 1974. The Lima NAM Conference welcomed<sup>186</sup> the independence of Mozambique. It joined the Colombo NAM Summit Conference as a member in 1976.

#### (6) NAMIBIA

The Germans began colonizing South-West Africa (now Namibia)<sup>187</sup> in 1884. Defeating the Germans, South Africa seized Namibia in 1914. The League of Nations placed the country under the mandate of "His British Majesty, so that it should be administered as an integral part of the Union of South Africa"<sup>188</sup>. In 1945, when the United Nations replaced the League, Namibia became "a Trust Territory ... like all the former Mandated Territories of the League of Nations"<sup>189</sup>, but instead of surrendering its control, South Africa passed the South West African Affairs (Amendment) Act of 1949, incorporating the territory into its own administrative system.

Thrice - in 1950, 1955 and 1956, the International Court of Justice affirmed that "South Africa had no legal claim to maintain its control of the territory"<sup>190</sup>. Inspired by the NAM's call for the liberation of the dependent countries, the people of Namibia formed the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in 1960, which started anti-colonial struggle and demanded independence of Namibia, the last colony of Africa.

In 1965, the Odendaal Commission recommended the splitting of the local population into twelve ethnic groups and the establishment

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184. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 194.

185. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 497.

186. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 144.

187. South West Africa was renamed Namibia in June, 1968, by a decision of the United Nations.

188. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 502.

189. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 172.

190. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 503.

autonomous reservations (Bantustans). South Africa drove the local people to the deserts, imposed racial segregation and other laws of its own government based on apartheid. Pressed by the NAM, South Africa "has accepted the need for change in Namibia<sup>191</sup>" and the principle of self-determination for the people.

Founded in August, 1966, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) - the armed branch of SWAPO, launched armed struggle against colonialism and racism with renewed strength in the face of brutal repression by the South African troops. In 1969, the PLAN guerrillas started carrying out sabotage operations, ambushes and mining of communication lines. To counter these, the South African army set up a chain of military supply bases in Namibia. In 1973, the PLAN launched a new offensive. In retaliation, South Africa attacked SWAPO transit bases and Namibian refugee camps in Zambia.

The Lusaka NAM Summit Conference (1970) adopted a 13-point resolution, which, among other things, reaffirmed the people's inalienable right to self-determination and independence and urged the transport, maritime, banking and other commercial firms and agencies "to refrain from giving any help<sup>192</sup>" to South Africa.

In 1972, the PLAN attacked the Kamenga base with heavy weapons and artillery so violently that it was completely destroyed. Alarmed by this attack, South Africa began to use Namibians to act as spies against the guerrillas. The Georgetown NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1972) observed that the Namibians are left with no other alternative but to intensify their armed struggle. The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) commended the Namibians for their courageous struggle undertaken in most adverse and in very difficult conditions. According to it<sup>193</sup> apartheid is "more than a system of racial discrimination; it is primarily a form of colonialism based on the fascist oppression of a people by a minority of foreign colonists; an oppression that exploits the people and deprives them of their basic rights; scorning the most elementary human values<sup>194</sup>". The Conference noted with anxiety the presence of a consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany in Namibia in violation of UN resolutions<sup>195</sup>.

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191. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 173.

192. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 54.

193. Ibid., p. 95.

194. Ibid., p. 109.

195. Ibid., p. 114.

In 1975, SWAPO recruited thousands of Namibians for military training in Angola, Zambia and Tanzania. The agents of BOSS, the South African Secret Service, also joined them. The BOSS and the West German Secret Services distributed pamphlets to alienate the people from liberation struggle, to undermine SWAPO and to destroy the PLAN from within. However, their plan was discovered and traitors were removed. PLAN penetrated as deep as 150 km. into Namibia forcing the White colonists to flee. The South African Prime Minister, B.J. Vorster, personally assured the White colonists of his support and pleaded with them not to leave the country. To counter the increasing PLAN attacks, the South African government launched an operation code-named "Cobra" while an Israeli battalion arrived to assist it. Thousands of African peasants and inhabitants were herded into camps, tortured and detained and their villages were levelled to the ground. The Angolan counter-revolutionaries from UNITA carried out "sabotage and terror against the defenceless population, posing as SWAPO fighters"<sup>196</sup>. However, the people were not deceived and gave shelter to the SWAPO fighters, who carried out sabotage operation in the capital (Windhoek). To counter the danger, South Africa invited mercenaries from Europe and the United States.

The Havana NAM meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1975) condemned "the transplanting of ignoble "Bantustan" policies in the territory"<sup>197</sup>. The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) reiterated its earlier resolution on the issue, which its Colombo Summit Conference (1976) noted with satisfaction that "relentless armed struggle was being waged by the oppressed masses against the most vicious manifestations of imperialism, Apartheid and Zionism"<sup>198</sup>. The Conference cautioned that the imperialists were "endeavouring to create divisions in the anti-colonialist fronts and liberation movements"<sup>199</sup> with the evil intention of establishing spurious independence in Namibia. The NAM considered the struggle and an uprising in Namibia, "the final and decisive phase in the liquidation of the tyrannical racist minority regimes"<sup>200</sup>.

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196. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 506.

197. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 132.

198. Ibid., p. 193.

199. Ibid.

200. Ibid., p. 194.

The Conference also condemned the "so-called Windhoek constitutional talks as calculated to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people<sup>201</sup>".

In 1977, South Africa made Walvis Bay part of its Cape Province. Faced with protests from SWAPO, South Africa, Britain, United States, West Germany and Canada met in New York on February 9-13, 1978, but their proposals sidetracked the question of the annexation of Walvis Bay. In April, 1978, the South African Foreign Minister, Roelof Botha, expressed refusal of his government to withdraw from Namibia. In December, 1978, South Africa held elections in Namibia unilaterally, which were to be held under UN supervision. As expected, these elections were won by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, fostered by the Pretoria regime in 1977. Sam Nujoma, President of the Committee leading SWAPO, declared: "South Africa understood only the language of arms and that his organization saw the necessity of stepping up the revolutionary struggle for the final and total independence of Namibia<sup>202</sup>". SWAPO rejected the manoeuvres of the "contact group" of the Western powers.

Regarding the proposal of "free" elections supervised by the Western powers, SWAPO held that soldiers of these powers "would be used under the guise of "democratism" to help the racists and their quisling Turnhalle Democratic Alliance participate in Namibia's government<sup>203</sup>". SWAPO continued its struggle for independence.

The Havana Ministerial Meeting of the NAM (1978) observed that the racist regime had "become ever more aggressive and provocative<sup>204</sup>" in its attitude towards the people. The Belgrade NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1978) paid tribute to the heroic struggle waged by the people of Namibia<sup>205</sup>. The New York NAM extraordinary meeting (1978) demanded early declaration of the "independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control<sup>206</sup>" and admitted SWAPO as its full-fledged member. It paid tribute to the people for "their courageous battle to eradicate colonialism, racism

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201. Ibid., p. 195; see also pp. 224-29.

202. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 509.

203. Ibid., . . .

204. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 277.

205. Ibid., p. 306.

206. Ibid., p. 356.



and Apartheid<sup>207</sup> in Namibia. The Maputo extraordinary Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM (1979) condemned "the bogus elections held in Namibia on December 4, 1978, by South Africa<sup>208</sup>", which were recognised by the Five Western Powers who "endorsed the South African scheme to deprive the Namibian people of their genuine independence". The meeting declared that Walvis Bay was an integral part of Namibia and denounced "the manoeuvres aimed at establishing a neo-colonial regime in Namibia and legitimizing South Africa's illegal annexation of Walvis Bay<sup>209</sup>". It decided to support the training programmes of the liberation movement and to establish "a Special Non-Aligned Fund for SWAPO". The Colombo Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM (1970) condemned "South Africa for the establishment of a fraudulent and illegal 'national assembly' in Namibia designed to achieve recognition for its puppets" to perpetuate its occupation and to exploit its natural resources. It also condemned South Africa for "arbitrary arrests and detentions of SWAPO leaders and members in its desperate attempt to wipe out the liberation movement and frustrate the aspirations<sup>210</sup>" of the people. The Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979) condemned the racist forces for launching a wave of violent repression against the Namibians "in reprisal for the people's increasing support of the liberation war", thus, forcing the people "to abandon their country and find refuge in neighbouring States<sup>211</sup>". The New Delhi Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned countries (1981) reiterated the decisions of its earlier conferences. The New York NAM meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (1981) noted with regret and concern that "the Security Council had fallen short of its fundamental responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security when the Resolutions proposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter 7 of the Chapter of the United Nations met with the veto of the three Western Permanent Members of the Council, on April 30, 1981" and commended the ANC for "the intensified mass political mobilization and armed action against strategic installations<sup>212</sup>".

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207. Ibid., p. 357.

208. Ibid., p. 364.

209. Ibid., p. 365.

210. Ibid., p. 374.

211. Ibid., p. 410.

212. Ibid., p. 543.

The meeting denounced the "attempts to link the Independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola" and noted that it was "incompatible with United Nations Resolution 435(1978)".<sup>213</sup> The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) reaffirmed the Namibian's right to independence of "a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other adjacent offshore islands" and renewed the pledge of its member countries to assist SWAPO in the intensification of its "armed struggle to secure the total liberation for Namibia".<sup>214</sup> The New York meeting of NAM (1983) condemned the Pretoria regime for establishing a State Council in Namibia to draw up a constitution for the territory in violation of the Security Council Resolution 439(1978).<sup>215</sup> The meeting, reiterating its earlier resolutions, noted that "this year marks the hundredth year of colonialism in Namibia".<sup>216</sup>

Taking over from Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, Robert Mugabe, the Marxist Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, assumed the leadership of six front-line states - Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, which openly attacked the American and South African policies describing them as 'fraudulent'.<sup>217</sup>

The Western powers and South Africa "sought to link Namibian independence with the withdrawal of the 30,000 Cuban troops from Angola. The front-line States "rejected the linkage outright" as it was "violative of Angolan sovereignty",<sup>218</sup> while the American Assistance Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, met the leaders of the front-line states and spoke of "renewed optimism".<sup>219</sup><sup>220</sup>

The Multi-party Conference (MPC) of the South Africans supported the NITA with the objective of forming "an interim government in Namibia as a prelude to independence".<sup>221</sup> The MPC's key demand was that a constitution should be adopted for Namibia which must be agreed upon by all parties "representing significant constituencies".<sup>222</sup> Mugabe

213. Ibid., p. 597.

214. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 23;

215. Ibid. p. 99.

216. Ibid., p. 114.

217. The Times of India (New Delhi), February 16, 1985.

218. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 8.

219. The Times of India (New Delhi), February 16, 1985.

220. Ibid.; see also Ibid., March 13, 1985.

221. Ibid., February 16, 1985.

222. Ibid.

condemned the United States and South Africa for their unwillingness "to free our Namibian brothers" and their "illogical insistence"<sup>223</sup> as linking Namibian independence with the withdrawal of Cuban forces, which were called by the Angolan government to repel the South African invasion.

At an international convention on Namibia in New York several African delegates suggested that the OAU and UN efforts should be supplemented with a more active role by the Non-aligned Movement. Since India was the Chairman of NAM at that time, its Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was urged to initiate action. The NAM analysed the causes which prompted the Western powers to oppose the independence of Namibia. Of the "90 multinational companies operating in Namibia, which continue to be under South African occupation, 64 have headquarters in Western Europe and North America and the rest in South Africa". Thus, foreign economic interests hold a monopoly over major economic sectors in Namibia, especially over mining, fisheries and agriculture. Namibia has "large deposits of diamond and other precious stones, uranium, copper, lead, tin, magnesium and other ores of economic and strategic importance". It is estimated that "the net capital transfer of the foreign companies amounts to 36 per cent of Namibia's gross national product", which prompted the UN Committee for Decolonisation to call it "outright plunder"<sup>224</sup>.

According to NAM, South Africa was subverting all negotiations with regard to independence of Namibia because it did not accept SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people although SWAPO has had the stamp of approval from the United Nations. The NAM denounced the installation of the so-called interim government in Namibia by the racist South African regime. The NAM conferences held in New Delhi (1983) and Harare (1986) proclaimed its "total resistance to any attempt to impose a puppet regime on the people of Namibia and called for global sanctions against South Africa"<sup>225</sup> describing the new regime another "brazen affront" to the people of Namibia and the world community.

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223. Ibid.

224. The Times of India (New Delhi), October 21, 1984.

225. Ibid., June 18, 1985.

The New York NAM meeting (1985) reiterated the earlier resolutions of its conferences<sup>226</sup>. The Eighth Summit Conference of the Movement held at Harare (1986) also reiterated the NAM positions<sup>227</sup> and endorsed the "Declaration and Programme of Action" adopted by the Extraordinary Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Countries on Namibia held in New Delhi, India, from April 19-21, 1985. The Conference called upon the member States "to contribute to the solidarity Fund for Namibia in order to enhance SWAPO's capability to wage the national liberation struggle. It reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Namibian people "to self-determination and independence within an untruncated territory, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and all adjacent offshore islands" in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions.

On August 1, 1986, Pretoria regime promised to implement the UN 'Settlement Plan' but since this promise was not fulfilled, the NAM Summit Conference (1986) called it a 'propaganda gimmick' and categorically rejected "persistent attempt by the United States Administration and racist South Africa to link the implementation of the United Nations Plan with irrelevant and extraneous issues, such as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola"<sup>228</sup>. The Conference strongly condemned "the racist Pretoria regime for the installation in Namibia of a so-called interim government in violation of Security Council resolution 435(1978) and urged all States "not to accord any form of recognition to the illegal act by the racist South African regime it purports to have established"<sup>229</sup>.

Since the Africans constitute the overwhelming majority - about 656,000 out of a total Namibian population of 746,000, they "play a key role in the national economy as the principal source of labour and exercise considerable influence on the economy as a result of their purchasing power"<sup>230</sup>, they should boycott the white products and work only to keep themselves alive, which would weaken the Government and would also avert a possible bloodbath resulting from an all-out racial war. However, elections held in November, 1989, have marked independence of Namibia.

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226. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), n.56, p. 46.

227. Ibid., pp. 44-49.

228. Ibid., p. 47.

229. Ibid.

230. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 174.

(7) SOUTH AFRICA

After the Portuguese were massacred by the local inhabitants, the Dutch settled at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. With about a hundred soldiers and sick sailors they left the ships of the Dutch East India Company, who, by 1795, had "expanded to some 15,000 colonists"<sup>231</sup>. The settlers, entirely males, married Hottentot women and the mixed stock of the two races came to be known as the Cape Coloureds. The Dutch move towards the fertile lowlands of Natal was resisted by Bantu people and finally culminated in the battle of the Great Fish River (1779). During the Napoleonic Wars (1805-1815), the British forces occupied the Cape. They were reinforced by some 5,000 British immigrants in 1820. The British imposed restrictions on the Dutch. The Dutch regarded the black heathens "with the utmost contempt and hatred"<sup>232</sup>. After defeating the Bantus, the Dutch established "two virtually independent Dutch republics, the Transvaal and Orange Free State"<sup>233</sup>, while the British controlled the Cape Colony and Natal. The Bantus could not be completely eliminated. They were forced to concentrate in Natal and Cape Province and in various other parts of the country, which have now been turned into Native Reserves or Bantustans.

The British refused to recognise the two 'Boer republics' established by the Dutch and regarded them subject to the British government, while the Boers refused to allow the British "a fair share of the wealth from the rich diamond and gold deposits" in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, discovered between 1867 and 1886 by the British. A war, known as the Boer War (1899-1902) broke out between the Dutch and the British forces. The Boers were defeated and the Act of Union (1909) joined the Dutch republics with the Cape and Natal as provinces, forming the Union of South Africa in 1910. The Boers had debarred the blacks from the franchise in their republics. The Act allowed this system to continue, but it made an exception of Cape non-whites (Cape Coloureds), who were of European ancestry<sup>234</sup>. Soon racial conflicts started between the whites and the non-whites and between the British and the Boers. The Boers formed the majority of white population. The Africans, mostly

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231. Ibid., p. 159.

232. Ibid., p. 162.

233. Ibid.

234. Ibid., p. 163.

Bantus, challenged the supremacy of the white's discriminatory racial laws<sup>235</sup>, which deprived them of their lands, reducing them to the status of "second class citizens". The Boers, who form the majority of the white population "have come to dominate the country's political life" and have deprived the blacks of all their political rights and have enforced "stringent racial laws"<sup>236</sup>.

Today, there are some 264 separate African units or Homelands in South Africa. In 1970, there were nearly 15 million blacks, 2 million Coloureds, 614,000 Asians and 3.5 million whites<sup>237</sup>. The blacks have only 33% of the total area of land in Natal, 18.7% in Transvaal, 9.2% in Cape Province and 1% in the Orange Free State, while the Europeans, mostly urbanised, possess 87% of the total area of the country.

### The Policy of Apartheid

In 1948, Prime Minister Malan declared his government's "racial policy as one of apartheid", which resulted in "an unbelievable nightmare of senseless oppression". The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) made intermarriage between whites and non-whites a punishable offence. The Group Areas Act of 1950 (amended in 1957) provided separate housing areas for the different racial groups. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) prescribed separate transport facilities for different races. The Immorality Act (1957) made "all forms of sexual relations across racial barriers an offence"<sup>238</sup>.

### Tribal Homelands

In 1950s, the Government decided to create a number of tribal Homelands or Bantustans out of the existing 264 African Reserves to force the Africans to withdraw "from the white areas and establish semi-autonomous states of their own, run along traditional lines under their own traditional rulers or tribal chiefs"<sup>239</sup>. In 1960, a number of Bantustans, such as, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Ciskei, Venda, Swazi, Basotho Qwa-Qwa and Ndebele were set up in the Transkei<sup>240</sup> and

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235. Ibid., p. 164.

236. Ibid., p. 167.

237. Ibid.

238. Ibid., p. 168.

239. Ibid.

240. Ibid., p. 170.

Zululand, which have the most extensive areas of African Reserves. The younger generation, inspired by the Non-aligned Movement, and the OAU, rejected the idea of the Homelands. In 1960, as a result of mounting hostility from the newly independent African and Asian states, which form a majority "within the Commonwealth family of nations", South Africa "decided to become a republic and to leave the Commonwealth"<sup>241</sup>.

The Belgrade NAM Summit Conference (1961) resolutely condemned "the policy of Apartheid practised by the Union of South Africa" and demanded "immediate abandonment of this policy"<sup>242</sup>. The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) emphasised that Apartheid violated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the principle of the equality of peoples and constituted a "threat to international peace and security". The Conference gave a call for the boycott of all South African goods, to break diplomatic relations with the country and "to deny airport and overflying facilities to aircraft and port facilities to ships proceeding to and from South Africa" and demanded "the release of all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions". The Conference appealed to the OAU "for the application of sanctions against South Africa"<sup>243</sup>. In the Lusaka NAM Summit Conference (1970), the members criticised the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan, "which by their political, economic, and military collaboration" with the Government of South Africa, encouraged and incited the Government "to persist in its racist policy" and condemned the activities of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), which constituted "the most sinister documents in history"<sup>244</sup>. The Conference appealed the Non-aligned countries to "contribute financially and materially"<sup>245</sup> to assist the people fighting against colonialism.

The New York NAM meeting (1971) expressed deep concern over "the continued obstruction to the process of decolonization and the intensified aggressiveness of the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racialism, particularly in Southern Africa"<sup>246</sup>. The Georgetown NAM Conference (1972) urged upon its members "to launch a resolute, concerted drive

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241. Ibid., p. 172.

242. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 7.

243. Ibid., p. 20.

244. Ibid., p. 52.

245. Ibid., p. 53.

246. Ibid., p. 64.

render material aid to all African movements of national liberation, speed up the emancipation process of these territories, mobilize world public opinion in favour of their cause, and unmask and isolate those powers which continue to give their support to Portuguese colonialism and the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury<sup>247</sup>". The Conference adopted a concrete resolution on decolonization<sup>248</sup>. The Kabul NAM meeting (1973) reiterated the earlier resolutions of its conferences and meetings<sup>249</sup>.

The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) welcomed the 'Action Programme' adopted at the international conference in Oslo "for the support of the victims of the colonialism and Apartheid in South Africa"<sup>250</sup>. The Conference observed that the Pretoria regime was "making maximal efforts in close cooperation with monopolistic corporations, with a view toward coordinating the economic exploitation of all South Africa"<sup>251</sup>. The Conference also decided "to organise world public opinion campaigns, especially in Western countries," to expose the support given by Portugal, Rhodesia and Israel to South Africa, and denounced "the permanent economic, financial and military aid"<sup>253</sup> extended to South Africa by some NAM powers. The Conference felt that the policy of Bantustans was meant "to Balkanize that territory and divide the people into ethnics, which is contrary to the idea of true Africanism"<sup>254</sup>. The Algiers NAM meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1974) noted that diplomatic relations between South Africa and Tel Aviv constitute "a irrefutable evidence of the common identity and ideological collusion"<sup>255</sup> between them.

The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) said that the Pretoria regime was a product of colonial conquest and was "operating as a fullfledged fascist power bent on perpetuating the ruthless domination of the indigenous people"<sup>256</sup>. It condemned France, the United States, the

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247. Ibid., p. 72.

248. Ibid., p. 75.

249. Ibid., p. 88.

250. Ibid., p. 95.

251. Ibid., p. 109.

252. Ibid., p. 110.

253. Ibid., p. 112.

254. Ibid.

255. Ibid., p. 128.

256. Ibid., p. 164.



United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany "for their stepped-up military alliance with the Pretoria regime in its frantic armament race designed for international repression and aggression against independent Africa"<sup>257</sup>. The members observed that the "repeated triple veto" exercised by the United States, France and United Kingdom to save South Africa from expulsion from the UN Security Council "testify to their well-known commitment to the side of the South African racist regime"<sup>258</sup>. The Algiers NAM meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1976) expressed concern over the decision of France to supply nuclear reactors to South Africa and called upon the French government to reconsider its decision.<sup>259</sup> The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) called upon the Non-aligned countries "to contribute generously to the Support and Solidarity Fund of Southern Africa"<sup>260</sup>.

In October, 1976, South Africa declared Transkei an 'independent republic of South Africa', which was independent only in name.

The Belgrade NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1978) called upon the people of South Africa to continue "country-wide underground mobilization" for sustained action and struggle, condemned the "so-called independence of tribal creations as null and void", denounced the so-called "independence of Transkei and Bophuthatswana", appreciated the UN Security Council Resolution 418 of November 4, 1977, concerning "arms embargo against South Africa" and UN proclamation of the year "beginning March 21, 1978, as the International Anti-Apartheid Year" and condemned continued "killings of peaceful demonstrators, the torture and murders of patriots in detention, the trials of freedom fighters under obnoxious racist laws, and the establishment of new Bantustans". The Conference adopted a 13-point resolution on South Africa, which, among other things, envisaged a study of the problems of unity of the ANC and PAC and to find an acceptable formula that will ensure the unification of all the fighting forces in that country and "to take necessary steps towards the imposition of economic sanctions, the withdrawal of investments, the oil embargo and the strict implementation of the Security Council Resolution 418 on mandatory arms embargo" and also "to give maximum publicity to the secret trial of Zeph Mothopeng

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257. Ibid.

258. Ibid.

259. Ibid., p. 181.

260. Ibid., p. 224.

and the TSETHAL 18 and all African nationalists in South Africa with a view to exposing the travesty of justice which the trials entail<sup>261</sup>".

The Maputo NAM extraordinary Ministerial meeting (1979) condemned the Apartheid based on "institutionalized racism", calling it "crude effort to diffuse the decisive revolutionary struggle of the people" and denounced the repressive measures of the South African government which included "arrests, political assassinations and massacres"<sup>262</sup>. The meeting denounced the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland, FRG, Israel, Japan, Belgium and Italy, which assisted South Africa by giving it "political, diplomatic, military, economic, material and financial support"<sup>263</sup>.

The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) demanded "unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, six of whom are in the twentieth year of their life imprisonment". It strongly condemned "the recent confirmation of death sentences imposed by the apartheid regime on six freedom fighters" and "called for an intensified world campaign to save their lives". The Conference condemned the US policy of constructive engagement aimed at "countering the international campaign for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa", and denounced the efforts of Latin American countries "to form a so-called South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO) in conjunction with the racist regime of South Africa"<sup>264</sup>.

The New York NAM meeting (1983) denounced "the brutal repression, torture, hangings and systematic murder of captured freedom fighters" and vehemently condemned "the hanging of three members of the ANC. The heads of delegation also strongly condemned the collaboration of certain Western countries with South Africa, especially the United States for "granting of the request by seven United States based trans-national corporations to provide technical and maintenance services to the South African nuclear power installation"<sup>265</sup>. The New York NAM meeting (1984) expressed indignation against the regime's imposition of a new racist constitution under the guise of constitutional reform

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261. Ibid., p. 349.

262. Ibid., p. 365.

263. Ibid., p. 366.

264. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 24.

265. Ibid., p. 100.

in a bid to dispossess the African majority, divide the oppressed people and to entrench apartheid. The meeting expressed grave concern over the "violence and repression" of the racist regime against those who protested and resisted by the "killing and wounding of hundreds of people, including children and detention of many leaders". Reiterating earlier NAM resolutions, the meeting demanded release of Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng and all other political prisoners and granting prisoner-of-war status to freedom fighters in accordance with the Geneva Convention. The meeting held the US policy of "constructive engagement" responsible for South African aggressive policy and blackmail against the neighbouring non-aligned countries. They deplored South Africa's "rapidly increasing military arsenal and, in particular, its acquisition of nuclear weapons capacity"<sup>266</sup>. It condemned military and nuclear collaboration between South Africa on the one hand, and Israel, the United States, France and West Germany<sup>267</sup>, on the other. The meeting deplored the visit of South African Premier to the United Kingdom, FRG, Belgium, Austria, Italy, the Holy See, Switzerland and Portugal, to undermine the international campaign against South Africa and lauded the anti-apartheid campaign of the people in these countries. They commended the people in the United States who took "concrete action towards the divestment of public funds from banks, companies and other institutions doing business with racist South Africa" and the people of Europe for promoting "the campaign for the international isolation of the apartheid regime". They lauded the action of New Zealand for "closing racist South Africa's Consulate in the country"<sup>268</sup>.

A leading anti-apartheid figure and executive member of the National Indian Congress (NIC), Mewa Ramgobin, a grandson-in-law of Mahatma Gandhi of India, who, after a "three-week sit-in-protest against the country's detention-without-trial legislation"<sup>269</sup> was detained on October 5, 1984. He was not allowed to get a private doctor in prison and was tortured. His wife, Ela, a grand-daughter of Mahatma Gandhi, was shocked to see his condition when he was rushed to hospital.

The new reform constitution was supposed to start a process of racial reconciliation, but the Government reversed its policy, which

266. Ibid., p. 113.

267. The Times of India (New Delhi), November 23, 1984.

268. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 114.

269. The Times of India (New Delhi). November 23. 1984.

caused a wave of unrest and a spontaneous outburst. The organised black resistance made some townships virtually ungovernable. Earlier, the important black trade unions had been avoiding political involvement, but the Government's heavy-handedness and raids on townships moved them and they too joined the political call for a two-day protest strike, which inflicted "serious damage on the (Government's) economy"<sup>270</sup>.

In November, 1984, China denounced South Africa for using "constitutional reforms" to strengthen its military suppression on the blacks and "hoodwink world opinion"<sup>271</sup>. Inspired by the NAM, Nobel Laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu criticised Reagan's policy, which, he said, "has worsened the situation in South Africa". In a meeting with President Reagan, he proposed the holding of a "national convention" including black leaders to develop a "blueprint for a new kind of society in South Africa". Reagan said: "We have made sizeable progress there in expressing our repugnance for apartheid and in persuading the South African Government to make changes, and we're going to continue"<sup>272</sup>.

At the New Delhi NAM meeting (1985), Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India said: "Some countries have sworn by racial equality with their left hand, but with their right hand supported the Pretoria regime. It is their continuing collaboration in the political, economic, military and nuclear fields that has reinforced South African belligerence"<sup>273</sup>.

On May 20, 1985, in London, South African Foreign Minister, "Pik" Botha stressed that "his government was willing to free the jailed nationalist leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela, if he renounced violence as a way of achieving his political aim"<sup>274</sup>. He felt that this was a "reasonable attitude". Nelson Mandela, Life President of the anti-Apartheid African National Congress (ANC), who was jailed for life in 1964 for "terrorist activities" refused to comment on Botha's offer. The Observer reported: "the South African authorities had made life difficult for Mandela

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270. Ibid., November 24, 1984.

271. Ibid.

272. Ibid., December 10, 1984.

273. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 162.

274. The Times of India (New Delhi), May 21, 1985.

since he refused an offer of freedom conditional on his going to live in the black homeland of Transkei<sup>275</sup>".

South Africa upgraded the Community Councils to the status of White Town Councils in 1983. Due to the ANC's violence, the local governments collapsed. The ANC accused the Councillors of being "co-oppressors". The widespread unrest forced hundreds of the Councillors to resign "in the face of violent attacks on their lives and properties". The Councillors were burnt and knifed to death, their families were victimised at school and work and their houses were petrol-bombed and destroyed. The violence was so intense that "scores promptly joined anti-apartheid organisations in a bid to save their skins". They realised that "local government for the African majority was a complete failure"<sup>276</sup>. This reflects the impact of the Non-aligned Movement in the mobilising success of the African black majority.

The South African government declared 'emergency'. The ANC warned against mass detentions and decided to intensify the freedom struggle until the White government was overthrown. A spokesman of the movement said that the proclamation of emergency would not deter the people in their fight against apartheid. In 1961, they said, "it was aimed at breaking the back of the ANC but it did not and this time Pretoria is trying to browbeat people into submission but it won't succeed"<sup>277</sup>.

President Reagan was opposed by the House of Representatives and the Senate. In July, 1985, the former passed a Bill for sanctions against South Africa by 295 votes to 127, while the latter passed it by 16 votes to one, urging upon the South African government "to stop the abhorrent treatment of the black majority". The Bill stipulated prohibition of new US bank loans to the South African government and prevention of sales of US computers and technology that South African military or police could use in enforcing racial laws.<sup>278</sup>

On July 17, 1985, foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries attending a meeting of OAU "called for imposition of embargo on all air flights and sea voyages to South Africa and praised recent US efforts to impose sanctions against the Pretoria regime"<sup>279</sup>. To control the situation

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275. Ibid.

276. Ibid., June 28, 1986.

277. Ibid., July 26, 1985.

278. Ibid., July 8, 1985.

279. Ibid., July 19, 1985.

the Government imposed "emergency" on July 21, 1985, on 36 black areas, and Mandela's wife's house was set on fire.<sup>280</sup> The Scandinavian Airways system jointly owned by Sweden, Denmark and Norway had already discontinued its flight to Johannesburg. However, Reagan's spokesman, Charles Redman, said: "The President, the Secretary (of State) and other officials in the administration remain firmly committed to our basic policy objectives in southern Africa". These objectives were "promotion of peaceful change away from South Africa's policy of apartheid, reducing border violence, independence for South African-ruled Namibia and withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola".<sup>281</sup> As a protest against the state of emergency, France recalled its ambassador from racist South Africa. As Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, hoped EEC countries<sup>282</sup> and Canada<sup>283</sup> followed the example of France.<sup>284</sup>

However, real economic pressure could only be applied by the British and Americans who had by far the heaviest economic stakes in South Africa. On the other hand, the young and militant blacks, inspired and supported by the NAM, "believe more and more in methods of violent agitation and struggle".<sup>285</sup> The biggest union of black miners (150,000) gave a strike call on August 25, 1985, against the state of emergency which crippled production in gold mines, hitting the South African economy hard and its currency tumbled to a record low. Botha said, "apartheid cannot be reformed". Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC's guerrilla movement, warned: "Many white people will lose their lives as the black people have been doing already". Bishop Desmond Tutu was almost in tears when he said: "I think the chances of peaceful change are virtually nil".<sup>286</sup>

The constitutional measures effected in 1984 by the Botha regime created further divisions among the blacks, the mixed races and the Indian community. The tricameral parliament consisting of the Whites, the Coloureds and the Indians reflected this division. The constitution,

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280. Ibid., August 14, 1985.

281. Ibid., July 25, 1985.

282. Ibid., August 1, 1985.

283. Ibid., August 13, 1985.

284. Ibid., August 17, 1985.

285. Ibid., August 13, 1985.

286. Ibid., August 19, 1985.

while extending political rights to these three communities, deprived the blacks "constituting about 70 per cent of the population of such rights". Such humiliations compelled the blacks to resort to violent resistance. In view of the chaotic conditions in South Africa, it may be inferred that the talk of western economic sanctions, recalling of ambassadors from Pretoria, advising Botha to lift emergency and extending minor political concessions to blacks were all vague. The ANC and SWAPO "called upon the western countries to put an end to all relations with the South African regime and to take economic measures against it".

Though he was not a Communist, Nelson Mandela on August 22, 1985, said: "Communist system would be "better" than the apartheid regime of racial segregation" because under Communism everybody would be living better as the system "gives equal opportunity to everybody". He reiterated his refusal "to renounce violence in order to win his freedom". He said: "I can't fold my arms. I want to live like a free human being ... There is no alternative to taking up arms. There is no room for peaceful struggle". In view of the continued efforts of NAM for peace and security, S.S. Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, said: "Sooner or later the U.S. would change its stand on mandatory economic sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa and follow world opinion".

The Luanda NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1985) paid tribute to the growing anti-apartheid movement in Western Europe, North America and Australia. It condemned the "military and nuclear collaboration between South Africa and certain NATO member countries and Israel". The Conference noted that as a result of the anti-apartheid movement in the world, "the South African economy is in the throes of collapse". The meeting welcomed consumer boycott by the oppressed people of South Africa "as a weapon in their campaign for the withdrawal of troops from the townships".

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287. Ibid., August 23, 1985.

288. Ibid.

289. Ibid., August 24, 1985.

290. Ibid., August 25, 1985.

291. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 177.

292. Ibid., p. 195.

293. Ibid., p. 239.

On September 4, 1985, Khurshed Alam Khan, The Indian Minister of State for External Affairs, said that comprehensive mandatory sanctions and the moral duty of states "to sever all links with Pretoria were the only answer to force South Africa to end its apartheid policy". He said: "It is clear South Africa could not persist in its defiance of the will of the international community for so long"<sup>294</sup>. However, the struggle of the South African people encouraged by the NAM "has galvanised global opinion against apartheid"<sup>295</sup>.

On September 9, 1985, there was a great victory of the South African people when President Reagan announced limited sanctions against South Africa. Had he not done so, the Congress would have passed a resolution imposing much stricter sanctions. The sanctions announced by Reagan included "a qualified ban on bank loans to South Africa, a prohibition on the import of South Africa gold coin, Krugger Rand, and restrictions on the export of computers"<sup>296</sup>.

At the Conference of Commonwealth Countries held in Nassau on October 20, 1985, the British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher was criticised by other members of the Commonwealth for her refusal to join the Asian, African and Caribbean delegates on the issue of recommending economic sanctions against South Africa. Leaders of the African countries said that Mrs. Thatcher could not be allowed to exercise "a veto on the will of the majority in the Commonwealth". They agreed to the scheme, suggested by the Australian Prime Minister, Robert Hawke, which involved "graduated sanctions" and a mechanism for "dialogue between the White majority regime and the blacks to suggest ways and means to end apartheid"<sup>297</sup>. Mrs. Thatcher refused to negotiate.<sup>298</sup>

Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, the Vice-President of India, said: "The regime should see the writing on the wall unless it wishes to see South Africa engulfed in further bloodshed and violence". He warned: "Apartheid cannot be reformed but must be dismantled entirely. The days of white supremacy are over and the winds of change are blowing with increasing intensity"<sup>299</sup>. The Harare NAM Summit Conference reiterated the earlier resolutions<sup>300</sup> in 1986.

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294. The Times of India (New Delhi), September 5, 1985.

295. Ibid., September 11, 1985.

296. Ibid.

297. Ibid., October 21, 1985.

298. Ibid.

299. Ibid., July 19, 1988.

299. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade) n 55 n 18



(8) SWAZILAND

The British colonialists, settled in 1878, established provisional government in 1890, in Swaziland, and after the Boer War in 1902, the colony became a British protectorate. The British assumed a "paternalistic" attitude and established British administration in the country in 1907. The Swazi King, Sobhuza II, called "The Lion" demanded the restitution of his right to the country's mineral wealth, but this demand of his was turned down by the British. A Constitutional Committee, appointed jointly by the British and the King in 1960, consolidated the economic and political rights of the colonialists, which was reaffirmed by them in constitutional talks in London in 1963.

The independence movement, launched by the NAM in Africa, inspired the emergence of political parties in the country. The Swaziland Progressive Party was founded in 1960, the Swaziland United Front and the Ngwane National Liberation Congress in 1962, and the Imbokodvo National Movement in 1964. As a result of the people's revolt, the British granted political independence<sup>301</sup> to the colony on September 6, 1968. It joined the Lusaka NAM Summit Conference as a member in 1970.

(9) ZAMBIA

Zambia was proclaimed a British protectorate to be administered by the British South Africa Company in 1888. When the mining monopoly of the Company expired in 1924, Northern Rhodesia became a Crown Protectorate.

In 1949, Harry Nkumbula founded the African National Congress(ANC). In 1950, there were moves to introduce a policy of outright racial discrimination, ending all effective African participation in the government. Measures were adopted to keep the Africans out of the skilled and highly paid jobs. The British amalgamated Northern and Southern Rhodesias and Nyasaland in August, 1953, which led to strong African opposition. The Africans of Northern Rhodesia hoped "to escape from the control of the Colonial Office" and were wedded to the British idea of the "paramountcy of native interests"<sup>302</sup>. The federation was opposed by Kaunda, who was imprisoned. When he was released, he formed the

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301. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 669.

302. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 180.

To have strong hold over the region, the colonialists federated the North and South Rhodesias and Nyasaland in September, 1953, but matters affecting the day-to-day life of the inhabitants remained "under the control of the respective territorial governments"<sup>310</sup>.

The Africans formed the African National Congress (ANC) in 1957, whose members, among others, included Robert Mugabe and Rev.N.Sithole, who demanded independence and establishment of a majority government in Rhodesia. The government took repressive measures and banned the ANC in February, 1959. In 1960, the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan admitted the strength of the new political forces (created by the NAM), which "were sweeping the countries of Black Africa irresistibly towards independence"<sup>311</sup>.

The ANC re-emerged with the name of the National Democratic Party, which was banned in 1961. The nationalists then founded the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which was outlawed in September, 1962. Sithole split away from ZAPU in 1964 and formed the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). As the people suffered from detentions, executions and exiles, they formed guerrilla troops to fight against their rulers. On the other hand, South Africa began to help Southern Rhodesia militarily.

However, the federation was dissolved in December, 1963. As a result, in 1964, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi) became independent and Southern Rhodesia "reverted to its former status as a self-governing territory"<sup>312</sup>.

The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) condemned the "policy of the racist minority regime" and urged all States "not to recognize the independence of Southern Rhodesia" and instead "to give favourable consideration to according recognition to an African nationalist government in exile"<sup>313</sup>.

The more the nationalist guerrilla armed struggle was intensified, the more the Rhodesian police and army geared up the machinery of repression. Robert Mugabe was imprisoned. Influenced by the NAM resolutions, the British imposed economic and political sanction against

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310. Ibid., p. 182.

311. Ibid., p. 187.

312. Ibid., p. 185.

313. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 19.

Rhodesia, but Ian Smith remained unaffected by these due to assistance from South Africa, Portugal and the Western firms.

On November 11, 1965, a new government was formed in the territory elected almost exclusively by White voters<sup>314</sup> and Ian Smith unilaterally declared independence of Rhodesia and the Whites held all the reins of power, in complete defiance of Britain.

The Georgetown NAM Conference (1972) decided to launch a resolute, concerted drive to render material aid to all African movements of national liberation, sped up the emancipation process of these territories, mobilize world opinion in favour of their cause, and unmask and isolate those powers which continued to give their support to Portuguese colonialism and the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury<sup>315</sup>.

Since Zambia, Mozambique and Angola assisted the patriots in Zimbabwe, the Rhodesian troops attacked their territories. It clamped a curfew over the country and penned up the rural population in so-called "protected villages" and turned the houses of the White into virtual fortresses. Smith released some of the African leaders for a negotiated solution in 1975, but the discussions failed. The visit of Henry Kissinger to Pretoria and Salisbury in April, 1976, led to the White regime conceding some demands of the Africans but not at the cost of the Western interests.

The NAM, OAU and the people of Rhodesia demanded "equitable share in the government", but the Whites opposed this as they numbered only 243,000, out of the country's total population of 5,400,000, and hence they knew that "any government elected on truly democratic lines will be dominated by Africans"<sup>316</sup>.

The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) observed that the independence of Mozambique and Angola had changed the geopolitical situation and had given a new impetus to the struggle for freedom and inspired and steeled the determination and resistance of the oppressed black masses of South Africa against the inhuman and criminal system of Apartheid and racial discrimination. The Conference condemned the

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314. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 187.

315. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 72.

316. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 188.

cold blooded and indiscriminate murders of school children, women and innocent bystanders in Sweto, Langa<sup>317</sup> and other towns by the racist minority regime. The Conference reaffirmed the alienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence, supported "using all means" including "armed struggle to achieve majority rule" and called for "consolidation of their unity under the leadership of the African National Council of Zimbabwe<sup>318</sup>".

A conference attended at Geneva by Britain, the Rhodesian regime and four African delegations failed to reach a settlement due to Smith's intransigence. In October, 1976, ZANU and ZAPU jointly created the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe (PFZ) to intensify the guerrilla fighting, which spread over all the parts of Rhodesia and when reached the suburbs of Salisbury, Smith negotiated with Muzorewa and so-called 'internal settlement' was signed by them on March 3, 1978.

The Belgrade NAM Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs(1978) totally condemned the "internal settlement" and considered it as "a sham, fraudulent and treacherous attempt to consolidate racist minority military, economic and political power and give some political status to the unrepresentative and opportunist elements that were party to it"<sup>319</sup>, and called upon all member states "to refrain from according any recognition to the Smith-Muzorewa regime"<sup>320</sup>. Further, the Conference sharply condemned Salisbury "every attempt to impose neo-colonialist domination upon the people of Zimbabwe" and declared that only such solution was possible "based on the wishes of the majority, as represented by the Patriotic Front", which was waging a popular and heroic armed struggle to liberate the entire country. Thus, the Conference demanded "total transfer of power from the minority to the people of Zimbabwe"<sup>321</sup> and called upon the international community to assist the Patriotic Front. The Conference observed that Smith continued his aggression receiving oil from some oil exporting countries such as Iran.<sup>322</sup>

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317. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 194.

318. Ibid., p. 195.

319. Ibid., p. 308.

320. Ibid., p. 373.

321. Ibid., p. 308.

322. Ibid., p. 349.

However, elections were held under Martial Law in June, 1979, and with government support Muzorewa became Prime Minister, whose government was not recognized by PFZ and guerrilla operations continued.

The Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979) reiterated that "Rhodesia was still a British colony, illegally governed by a clique of racists and traitors"<sup>323</sup>. An election was, however, held again on February 27, 1980, and Mugabe was elected Prime Minister by an overwhelming majority. Mugabe hosted the Eighth Summit Conference of the NAM at Harare in 1981. He is one of the greatest exponents of the Movement of Non-aligned countries.

### Conclusion

Ethiopia regained her kingdom in 1942. The countries, which became independent under the influence of the idea of non-alignment were Sudan, which achieved independence in 1956, Guinea RPR in 1958, Benin, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo(Brazzaville), Gabon, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, Upper Volta in 1960, and Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Uganda in 1961. The countries, which became independent under the impact of the Non-aligned Movement after the First Summit in 1961, were Liberia and Malawi, which became independent in 1964, Gambia in 1965, Botswana and Lesotho in 1966, Equatorial Guinea, Rio Muni, Fernando Poo and Annobon and Swaziland in 1968, Guinea-Bissau in 1973, Mozambique in 1974, Angola, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe in 1975, Djibouti in 1977 and Zimbabwe in 1978. Namibia is expected to gain complete independence soon. POLISARIO Front is struggling for independence of Western Sahara. There are revolutionary movements to overthrow the racist regime of South Africa. All the independent nations of West Africa, Central Africa, East Africa, North-East Africa and South Africa, except Western Sahara, Namibia and South Africa, are members of the Non-aligned Movement.

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323. Ibid., p. 408.



## CHAPTER VI

### NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA

According to Halsey and Johnston, the term 'Latin America' designates twenty American republics that "speak Romance languages and that were colonized by the Latin nations<sup>1</sup>" - Spain, Portugal and France. Butland says that 'Latin America' embraces "all the lands south of the Mexican-United States boundary<sup>2</sup>". The other less known terms for Latin America are 'Hispanic America', 'Ibero-America' and 'Indo-America'.

The present study includes the following twenty-four states of Latin America:

- (A) Mexico.
- (B) Central American States: Belize (British Honduras), Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama and Panama Canal Zone.
- (C) South American States: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.
- (D) Island Republics: Cuba, Dominican Republic and Haiti.
- (E) The Guianas: Guyana (British Guiana), Surinam (Dutch Guiana) and French Guiana.

The colonization of Latin America began in the fifteenth century. Columbus discovered the New World<sup>3</sup> in 1492, and within fifty years from that event Spanish and Portuguese explorers established settlements in Asuncion (1537), Bogota (1538), Lima (1535), Mexico City (1521), Panama City (1519), Quito (1534), Santiago (1541) and Sucre (1538<sup>4</sup>). Between 1520 and 1550, the Dutch forced northward and the three Guiana colonies came into existence. The Spanish Cortes, Pizarro, Quesada and Valdivia subdued the "Aztecs of Mexico, the Incas of Peru, the Chibchas of Colombia and the Araucanians of Mediterranean Chile<sup>5</sup>". Mexico City,

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1. William D. Halsey and Bernard Johnston, Collier's Encyclopedia (New York: Macmillan Educational Company, 1986), Vol. 14, p. 342.
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  4. Gilbert J. Butland, n.2, p. 1.
  5. Ibid., p. 2.

Lima, Bogota and Santiago became centres of Spanish administration, controlling the area from Mexico to Argentina. Thus, Spain occupied the largest area. As a result all the Latin American countries are Spanish speaking except Brazil where Portuguese is spoken and Haiti which is a French speaking island.

During the period of colonization, Spain had absolute monarchy, while England's monarchy had become weak due to an increasingly strong parliament. Since the people of the British colonies enjoyed "the rights of Englishmen"<sup>6</sup>, they experienced self-government sooner than the Portuguese, Spanish and French colonies. The Spaniards' motive was "to seek adventure and wealth"<sup>7</sup>, while the Englishmen sought refuge in this region for fear of political or religious persecution in their country. In the Spanish region, the discovery of gold and silver in Mexico and Peru changed the character of colonial enterprise<sup>8</sup>. While the Spaniards exploited the indigenous population as cheap labour, the Englishmen either exterminated them or pushed them back. Between 1810 and 1826, the Iberian empire collapsed.

The Napoleonic invasion<sup>9</sup> of Portugal and Spain from 1807 to 1810 led to war among them in Latin America, while the local peoples (the Creoles i.e. Spaniards born in Latin America) started their struggle for independence. As a result, France lost Haiti, Portugal lost Brazil and Spain lost all its continental possession. The emancipation struggle turned into a civil war, followed by repression of Spaniards and US born colonists who led coups d'etat in many states and established dictatorships<sup>10</sup>. However, struggles between the Creoles and the home government resulted in the independence of the Latin American countries.

Between 1530 and 1830, the New World remained completely under the domination of Europe. Gradually autocratic rule gave way to democratic laws, which put these countries on the road of national development and turned the small colonial estates into great capitals in the Haussmann tradition. Though the Spanish rule had moulded the

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6. William D. Halsey and Bernard Johnston, n. 1, p. 342.

7. Ibid., p.344.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.



religious, cultural and educational institutions on the models of those of Spain<sup>11</sup> and founded the colonial cities of "exactly the same size of block, the same width of street, the same general urban pattern"<sup>12</sup> ensuring unity but "increasingly divergent forces" separated them into twenty nations.

A brief narration of the political developments and problems, which inspired the people of Latin America to support and join the Non-aligned Movement, is given below:

(A) MEXICO

Mexico is, by far, the largest country in Latin America. 90 per cent of its population speaks Spanish and 10 per cent speaks the indigenous languages.

Mexico was first conquered by Herman Cortes in the sixteenth century and was ruled by Spain until the War of Independence (1810-21). After the war, in 1846, Mexico ceded one half of its territory to the United States. The political and social reforms caused civil wars and repudiation of debts led to war with Britain, United States and France during the 1860s. The people gunned down the Austrian Emperor whom France attempted to install as King of Mexico in 1867. Disturbance continued until the revolution in 1910. The 1917 constitution changed the system of land ownership, re-drafted the labour code and curtailed the power of the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>13</sup> In 1919, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) ruled over the country. In 1979, Mexico signed trade agreements with the EEC and the CMEA.

Mexico participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) as an observer.<sup>14</sup> The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) appreciated the role of Latin America, particularly of President Echeverria of Mexico, who proposed at the Sixth Session of the UN General Assembly<sup>15</sup>

11. Gilbert J. Butland, n. 2, p. 4.

12. Francis Violich, Cities of Latin America: Housing and Planning to the South (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1944), p.28.

13. The Europa Year Book, 1988 : A World Survey (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1989), Vol. I, p. 1832.

14. Two Decades of Non-Alignment: Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1983), p. 17.

15. Ibid., p. 141.

## CHAPTER VI

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15. Ibid., p. 141.

the Plan of Action and the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of Nations, which were adopted<sup>16</sup>. This NAM Conference also supported and encouraged the steps taken by Mexico to recover its natural resources from foreign control and condemned the US Foreign Trade Bill which affected the Latin American countries.

Mexico attended as an observer the Algiers NAM meeting<sup>18</sup> of the Coordinating Bureau (1976) and the Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976), which encouraged Mexico for taking independent measures to protect its natural resources<sup>20</sup>. The New Delhi NAM Ministerial meeting (1977) appreciated the initiatives taken on the lines of the Colombo proposals by the Group of 77 in the Conference on Cooperation among Developing Countries held in Mexico in September, 1976, which expressed its conviction that the Non-aligned Movement "should continue to retain its catalytic role within the Group of 77 to strengthen its negotiating position in multilateral fora discussing international economic relations"<sup>21</sup>.

Mexico attended as an observer the Belgrade NAM Conference (1978) and the Havana NAM Summit Conference<sup>22</sup> (1979). The Managua Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1983) welcomed the call given by the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela at a meeting held on January 8-9, 1978, in Panama urging the Central American countries to negotiate and hold dialogue to reduce tension and to promote peaceful coexistence and mutual respect and regretted any attempt by the imperialists "to impede or obstruct such negotiations"<sup>23</sup>. The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) reiterated this resolution<sup>24</sup>.

In January, 1983, the Government of Mexico introduced laws to prevent the misuse of public funds by the politicians. In August, 1983,

16. Ibid., p. 147.

17. Ibid., p. 149.

18. Ibid., p. 179.

19. Ibid., p. 189.

20. Ibid., p. 201.

21. Ibid., p. 260.

22. Ibid., pp. 295 and 401.

23. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement: Documents of the Gatherings of the Nonaligned Countries, 1983-1986, Vol. II (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1986), pp. 6, 11 and 13.

24. Ibid., pp. 35 and 41.

the former head of PEME, J.D. Serrano, was arrested on charges of fraud. Discontent became more aggravated due to misappropriation of a large proportion of overseas aids for victims of mid-September 1983 earthquake, as a result of which about 7,000 people (according to some sources 20,000 people) died and 300,000 people were rendered homeless. In view of the discontent and NAM resolutions supporting Mexico's demand for freedom from foreign influence, Mexico urged the "withdrawal of all foreign (US) advisers in the region"<sup>25</sup>.

The US-Mexican relations were deteriorated still more in 1985, due to the murder of a US Drug Enforcement Administrator, illegal immigration and drug trafficking between Mexico and the United States. It was expected in 1987, that the United States would deport most of the Mexicans (numbering 1.5 m to 3 m) residing illegally in the USA.

The New York NAM Ministering Meeting (1984) welcomed the initiative taken by the Heads of State or Government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania in their Joint Declaration of May 22, 1984, in which the nuclear states were urged to "halt all testing, production and development of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems, to be followed by substantial reduction in their nuclear forces"<sup>26</sup>. The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) reiterated the peace initiative of the Contadora Group<sup>27</sup>. The New Delhi NAM Ministerial Meeting (1986) reiterated the Luanda resolution<sup>28</sup>.

There was an influx of refugees into Mexico from El Salvador and Guatemala from 1982 to 1986. Since Mexico refused to confer legal status upon these refugees<sup>29</sup>, about 18,000 Guatemalan refugees were "relocated to camps in the state of Campeche"<sup>30</sup>.

## (B) CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES

### (1) BELIZE

Belize, one of the world's tiny sore spots with a population of 82,000 inhabitants (Belize City - 27,000) lies on the Caribbean

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25. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. II, p. 1833.

26. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n.23, p.111.

27. Ibid., pp. 171 and 185.

28. Ibid., p. 250.

29. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. II, p. 1833.

30. Ibid.

coast or Central America with Mexico to the north-west and Guatemala to the south. Its population is predominantly Negro and there is a very small white group consisting of British civil servants, military personnel and Anglican missionaries. Though Spanish is the mother tongue of about one-half of its people, English is the official language. The capital is Belmopan.<sup>31</sup>

Belize, known as British Honduras until 1973, was first colonized by British settlers in the seventeenth century and was recognised as a British colony in 1862. A legislative assembly was first elected in the territory according to a new constitution adopted in 1954. The People's United Party (PUP), led by George Price, won the elections<sup>32</sup> held in April, 1954.

Guatemala's claim of sovereignty over Belize dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century, but the British were "reluctant to hand over the English-speaking Negro population" to Guatemala. On the other hand, Guatemala, governed by people of Mestizo or pure Spanish ancestry who have a strong anti-Negro bias, opposed the importation of Negro workers from Belize. This resulted in an impasse. The people of Belize suffered from poverty and illiteracy. Inspired by the NAM, the people of the territory demanded independence.

In 1964, the colony achieved internal self-government while the British retained "responsibility of defence, external affairs and internal security".<sup>34</sup> In July, 1974 and November, 1975, the British troops protected Belize from invasion by Guatemala.

The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) demanded that colonialism be eliminated in Belize while the people's aspiration continued to be "frustrated by territorial claims".<sup>35</sup> The Conference affirmed the territorial integrity of Belize and its people's right to independence.

The Algiers NAM Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1976) reiterated

31. In 1970, the capital was moved from Belize City to the newly built town - Belmopan.

32. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 482.

33. Preston E. James, Latin America (London: Cassell, 3rd edn., 1959), p. 857.

34. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 482.

35. Two Decades of Non-Alignment. n. 14. n. 148.

the Lima resolutions on Belize.<sup>36</sup> Its Colombo Summit Conference (1976) asked for the implementation of the UN General Assembly Resolution 3432 (XXX). Belize participated in the Conference with a "special status".<sup>37</sup> The New Delhi NAM Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1977) expressed solidarity with the freedom struggle of the people of Belize.<sup>38</sup> The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1978) viewed with great concern the "persistence of the threats to and pressure on the inviolability and territorial integrity of Belize",<sup>39</sup> which prevented the people from exercising their right to self-determination. At the Belgrade NAM Conference (1978), Belize was "granted Special Status, including the right to address the Conference".<sup>40</sup> The Conference also held that it was the responsibility of Great Britain "to assist Belize in attaining a secure independence".<sup>41</sup> The Colombo Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM (1979) welcomed the British policy of ensuring "rapid and secure independence" of Belize and emphasised that it "could only be achieved through a negotiated agreement acceptable to the people of that territory".<sup>42</sup>

The UN General Assembly said that Belize should be independent in 1981. Since the United Kingdom and Guatemala both claimed Belize, the latter objected to the establishment of "a new State with uncertain frontiers and territory subject to negotiations". Guatemala's claim to the territory was "vigorously rejected by all Belizeans".<sup>43</sup>

The 1980-elections were won by the party of C.L.B. Rogers, who became Prime Minister and demanded "early independence" and declared that the "House was unanimous in opposing any proposals for a settlement of the Anglo-Guatemalan dispute that might involve the cessation of Belizean territory or erode its sovereignty".<sup>44</sup>

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36. Ibid., p. 182.

37. Ibid., p. 247.

38. Ibid., p. 256.

39. Ibid., p. 282.

40. Ibid., p. 295.

41. Ibid., p. 309.

42. Ibid., p. 380.

43. Yearbook of the United Nations (New York: UN, Department of Public Information), 1980, Vol. 34, p. 1079.

44. Ibid.



At a tripartite conference held in March, 1981, the United Kingdom agreed to the independence of Belize "in exchange for access to the Caribbean Sea through Belize and the use of certain offshore cays and their surrounding waters"<sup>45</sup>. This caused strikes and rioting in the country. Guatemala renewed its claim before the UN Security Council and broke off relations with the United Kingdom. However, Belize ~~was~~<sup>46</sup>, as per schedule, declared independent within the British Commonwealth on September 21, 1981.

Guatemala refused to recognize the independence of Belize and its demand that its southern part be ceded to it was rejected by Belize. Differences between Belize and Guatemala continued. Representatives of the two countries met at Miami (USA) on April 29, 1987, but their relations "hardened" as Guatemala reiterated its "demand for the cession of a large area of Belize's territory"<sup>47</sup>, which the Belizeans refused to accept. Belize, in the UN General Assembly, sought an "honourable <sup>48</sup>end" to the dispute.

## (2) COSTA RICA

In the absence of traditional large estates common in Latin America, there is no small group of landed aristocracy in Costa Rica, which dominates the social life and manipulates the politics with the support of any army. Widespread literacy in the country has brought about equality among the people. There are no signs of rural poverty; but due to rapid rate of population increase (34 per thousand), the economic condition of the people became poor. However, in per capita income (\$ 235 in 1955), Costa Rica stands sixth in Latin America and the standard of living of its people is much higher than that of its neighbours. 55 per cent of its people are engaged in agriculture. Its foreign trade is closely tied with the United States.

Owing to literacy, equality and a coherent national life in Costa Rica, democracy is most firmly established there. To work for livelihood

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45. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 482.

46. Ibid.; see also Keesing's Contemporary Archives : Record of World Events (London: Longman's Group Limited), Vol. XXVII, December, 1981, p. 31248.

47. Keesings, n. 46, Vol. XXXIV, June, 1988, p. 35963.

48. Ibid., p. 35964.

is "never looked down on in Costa Rica"<sup>49</sup> and "political problems generated little heat"<sup>50</sup>. Costa Rica became independent from Spanish rule in 1821. Due to lack of political awareness among the people and of experience in public administration, the government came into the hands of a dictator who had to earn his living like others, because the national treasury was empty. Successive governments of the country were guided by public opinion, which ensured freedom of speech, freedom of access to knowledge, freedom to criticize the government and freedom to discuss public issues. Since 1948, Costa Rica "has had no army - only a national police force"<sup>52</sup>.

The result of the Presidential elections in February, 1948, caused civil war due to conflict between the Conservative government party and the anti-government revolutionary forces led by Jose' Figueres Ferrer, who took over power in April, 1948. Figueres founded the Socialist Partuto de Liberacion National (PIN) dominated the national politics for decades, and made Costa Rica one of the "most democratic countries in Latin America"<sup>53</sup>.

In 1974, the PIN President established relations with Communist states and legalized the Communist party and other left-wing parties.

Costa Rica attended the Havana NAM Summit Conference<sup>54</sup> (1979) as an Observer. Since the United States charged that the Nicaraguan Revolution was the result of 'East expansionism', it launched operations to destabilize Nicaragua, which has its border with Costa Rica. The United States set up "a reserve base in Costa Rican territory"<sup>55</sup> and posted CIA officers to direct high-ranking officials of the country to work in US interest. The Costa Rican officials had to fall in line with the US policy because of its economic and financial crisis.

In 1982, PIN leader, Monge became President of Costa Rica. He adopted a policy of neutrality<sup>56</sup>. Although Costa Rica expelled the Nicaraguan rebel leader, Gomez, its relations with Nicaragua continued

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49. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 724.

50. Ibid.

51. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 796.

52. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 724.

53. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, p. 796.

54. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 401.

55. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 12.

56. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 796.

to worsen, because Monge's delation of neutrality "in an attempt to elicit foreign support" in 1983 was opposed by the United States. In 1984, the Nicaraguan Air Force and Sandinista forces invaded the border villages of Costa Rica. Though the Contadora group (Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela) mediated and ended their dispute, the Nicaraguan and Sandinist guerillas continued to attack in 1985. The Government of Costa Rica decided to create an anti-guerrilla battalion trained by the United States and the country's neutrality, thus, became doubtful.

At the instance of the United States, the Israeli Foreign Minister, accompanied by Zionist military advisers, visited Costa Rica in October, 1982, and signed military agreements<sup>57</sup> with it. Backed by the United States, Costa Rica laid claim on a disputed area on its border with Nicaragua. Nicaragua proposed to create a neutral zone of security. The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) urged the government of Nicaragua and Costa Rica to establish such a zone.<sup>58</sup> However, the New Delhi Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1986) welcomed the agreements reached between Nicaragua and Costa Rica "to establish the political basis for the formation of a commission of supervision and control of the border area".<sup>59</sup>

President Arias has been playing an important role in maintaining peace in Central America. In August, 1987, he presented a modified peace plan at a summit meeting in Esquipulas, which was endorsed by the Presidents of Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica. The plan provided "a 90-day timetable for the implementation of various measures"<sup>60</sup>, aimed at promoting peace in the region, such as - "ceasefires in Nicaragua and El Salvador, a halt to foreign assistance to rebel groups, democratic reforms in Nicaragua and a ban on the use of foreign territory as a base for attack"<sup>61</sup>. The UN General Assembly, on October 7, 1987, adopted a resolution expressing its "firmest support"<sup>62</sup> for the peace plan. Japan also backed the peace plan and offered to loan US \$ 1,000 m and 400 technical trainees over the next five years. The plan was successful and President Arias was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in October, 1987.

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57. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 12.

58. Ibid., p. 186.

59. Ibid., p. 250.

60. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 797.

61. Ibid.

62. Keesing's, n. 46, Vol. XXXIV, May, 1988, n. 35890.

(3) EL SALVADOR

The independence of Mexico from Spain in 1821 followed "a decade of sporadic insurrections by disaffected regional interests"<sup>63</sup>, while effective power lay in the hands of separate towns of the isthmus. However, in 1823, with the spirit of unification, the United Provinces of Central America (including five provinces - Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica) came into being with its capital in Guatemala City. But liberal ideas and local quarrels turned into civic unrest and civil war. Consequently, the union collapsed<sup>64</sup> in 1839, and the provinces declared themselves independent.

El Salvador is the smallest of the twenty Latin American countries on the Pacific coast of Central America. The capital is San Salvador. Its total area is 8,257 sq. miles. Although 89% of its population is of Indian ancestry, the remaining 11% people are of pure Spanish descent, who control the economic and political life of the country. They also dominate the army which actually carries on the administration. With the increase of literacy among the urban people, there is a demand for change. Communists, taking advantage of this<sup>65</sup>, have been playing an important role in political life, but they have made little headway with the army. And without army support, no political party in El Salvador can be successful and no revolution is possible.

However, the country could not escape from the influence of the rising wave of democracy and independence and, particularly, from the ideals of the Non-aligned Movement. As a result, a group of young army officers revolted against the aristocratic rule and overthrew<sup>66</sup> the government in 1948. Major Oscar Osorio became President in 1949. He introduced social reforms, and permitted formation of trade unions among the industrial workers. But since landowners still enjoyed sufficient power, "no suggestion of a program of land redistribution or even a program leading to the more efficient use of the land was made"<sup>67</sup>. The Communists tried to bring about a revolution, but they

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63. Daniel P. Parker, Major Aspects of American Government (1963), pp. 77-90.

64. Harold Blakemore and Clifford T. Smith, Latin America: Geographical Perspectives (London: Methuen Co. Ltd., 1971), p. 569.

65. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 678.

66. Ibid., p. 679.

67. Ibid.

were jailed or exiled and their movement was crushed by the military force. Though the country was non-Communist, it could not resist the demand for socialism. Therefore, when Major Osorio completed his term in 1956, his successor promised "to continue the program of social reform"<sup>68</sup>.

The people of the country want peace, security and independence from all foreign pressures. Its representative participated in the Lima NAM Conference (1975), its Colombo Summit Conference (1976), Havana Summit Conference (1979), Managua Meeting (1983) and New Delhi Summit Conference (1983) as Observers.

Though the country was formally decolonized in 1821, and declared independence in 1839, it achieved real democracy in 1948, which brought El Salvador close to the socialist and non-aligned countries. The New York NAM Meeting (1983) condemned the US "intervention and repression"<sup>69</sup> and its attempts to destabilize the government of the country. It is<sup>70</sup> hoped that the country would join the NAM as soon as it ceases to depend<sup>71</sup> on the United States and other capitalist nations.

El Salvador has a territorial dispute with Honduras "over three islands in the Gulf of Fonseca and a small area of land on the joint border"<sup>72</sup>. However, President Duarte of El Salvador and President Azcona of Honduras met and referred the issue to the International Court of Justice for "arbitration"<sup>73</sup> in December, 1986.

In October, 1987, negotiations between the Salvadorean National Reconciliation Commission (CRN) headed by President Duarte, and the rebel Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN) and its political wing, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) failed. However, on October 27, 1987, the National Assembly of the country pardoned "any crime committed by anyone for the motive, occasion, or as a consequence of the armed conflict"<sup>74</sup> under Point XIII of the Peace Plan put forward by President Arias of Costa Rica and signed by the five states on August 7, 1987.

68. Ibid.

69. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 6.

70. Ibid., p. 12.

71. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 679.

72. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 968.

73. Ibid.

74. Keesings, n. 46, Vol. XXXIV, May, 1988, p. 35891.

This allowed the refugees to return home from the Mesa Grande refugee camp in Honduras.

According to a broadcast on April 22, 1988, a new clandestine movement, the People's Patriotic Movement (MPP) was founded in El Salvador with the aim, among others, to "struggle for a sovereign and independent homeland free from US intervention"<sup>75</sup>. On October 28, 1988, President Duarte charged that the left, who were "looking for a martyr" were responsible for gunning down Sr Anaya, President of the independent and non-governmental Salvadorean Human Rights Commission - the fourth member of the Commission to be killed since 1978. Western diplomats suggested that "Rightists had killed Sr Anaya in an attempt to sabotage the Central American Peace Plan"<sup>76</sup>. In protest at the killing, the FMIN "refused to participate in ceasefire talks"<sup>77</sup> in 1987.

#### (4) GUATEMALA

Guatemala's foreign trade is closely tied to the United States<sup>78</sup>. Of all the exports, "the United States takes over 70% and between 60% and 70% imports come from the United States"<sup>79</sup>. Further, a sizeable portion of the development programme of the country was financed with a loan from the United States<sup>80</sup>.

The continuous turmoil, poverty of farm workers and successive dictatorship led the liberals to fight for the establishment of democracy and for ending the system of power and privilege. Consequently, the 1944 Revolution overthrew the last dictator, General Ubico, and a liberal minded civilian, Juan Jose Arevalo, became President, who was replaced by Jacobo Arbenz Guzman in 1951. Arbenz, a young and ambitious junior officer favoured Communism, encouraged the peasants to seize land from landowners, and carried on propaganda against the United States<sup>81</sup>. Since the Communists wished to fight against the domination of the United States and the people occupying position and prestige, they took the

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75. Ibid., June, 1988, p. 35955.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 670.

79. Ibid., p. 669.

80. Ibid., p. 673.

81. Robert J. Alexander, Communism in Latin America (New Brunswick: New Jersey, 1957), p. 350.

army into confidence. In 1954, an army of exiled army officers, organised in Honduras, attacked Guatemala. The Guatemalan army refused to resist. Arbenz was forced to flee and Castillo Armas assumed presidency. He was assassinated in 1957.

The 1975 Lima NAM Ministerial Conference invited Guatemala to participate as a guest.<sup>82</sup> The 1978 Havana Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM noted with concern the supply of Israeli-made arms to Guatemala, which, according to NAM, strengthened the Israeli war industry<sup>83</sup> and inadvertently affected the Palestinian cause.

Though Guatemala became independent in 1823, successive dictatorships kept the people away from democracy until 1944. It was due to the rising popularity of the ideals of non-alignment, peace and equality, that made the people overthrow dictatorship and establish democracy in 1944. Guatemala may come in line with the socialist ideas in view of "the mounting pressures for social change"<sup>84</sup> in Guatemala.

On October 28, 1987, the Guatemalan National Congress (GNC) announced amnesty<sup>85</sup> to the rebels. However, following a ceasefire, the Guatemala Party of Labour (PGT) rejected the amnesty proposal and desired "for a dialogue with the Government". Representatives of the exiled group, the Guatemalan Democratic Forum (FDG) declared from Mexico that "the democratic opening which the Government had tried to project does not exist"<sup>86</sup>. On March 26, 1988, President de la Madrid of Mexico and President Cerezo of Guatemala declared that the two countries would not lend support to armed groups, which sought "to destabilize legally established governments"<sup>87</sup>. In May, 1987, President Cerezo resisted US pressure to change his position of "active neutrality" in the Central American conflict and to support the Contras<sup>88</sup>.

In April, 1987, Guatemala and Yugoslavia established diplomatic relations.

82. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.14, p. 141.

83. Ibid., p. 276.

84. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 673.

85. There were "perhaps five political prisoners throughout the country"; see Keesing's, n. 46, Vol. XXXIV, May, 1988, p. 35892.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid., p. 35958.

(5) HONDURAS

The Republic of Honduras lies in the middle of the Central American Isthmus. Its national language is Spanish. Honduras was ruled by Spain from the sixteenth century until its independence in 1821, when the Federation of Central America was formed. It emerged as an independent state in 1838.<sup>89</sup> Honduras has a long northern coastline on the Caribbean Sea and a narrow southern outlet to the Pacific Ocean.<sup>90</sup>

Though Honduras broke its allegiance to Spain, the pattern of its social and economic life remained unaltered. The Lenca Indians, like the Pipil tribes, "have learned Spanish, wear Spanish types of clothing".<sup>91</sup> Though 96% of the people have some Indian ancestors while only 2% people are of unmixed Spanish descent and 2% are negros. Their population is distributed into three groups - in the highlands of the south-west, in the valleys and coastal lowlands of the north, where they are mostly engaged in banana firms, which are the largest exporters of the commodity in the world. Due to rivalry between these three groups, the problem of national unity has been aggravated. According to Alexander, "the country's whole north coast is dominated by two banana firms ... which command what are virtually states within a state", which provide "all the public and social services" and controlled the whole economic, social and political life of the region until the 1950s. Foreign engineers and agronomists have made it a "tropical paradise". Though the workers' way of living has been raised, they went on strike in 1951 "to escape from foreign domination".<sup>93</sup> They desire freedom against military dictatorship which prevailed from 1933 to 1948.

By the end of the 1940s, ideas of complete independence and non-alignment had gathered strength. In 1948, the Liberal Party was established, which demanded social reforms. In 1957-elections, the people supported the liberals, who promised democratic procedures.<sup>94</sup> Its people were inspired by the development of a strong sense of nationalism

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89. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 1287; see also Gilbert J. Butland, n.2, p. 4.

90. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 1287.

91. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 682.

92. Robert J. Alexander, n. 81, pp. 371-72.

93. Ibid., p. 691.

94. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 691.



in the neighbouring countries - Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua. The United States, which takes more than 60 per cent<sup>95</sup> of all the Honduran exports, began to exert undue pressure on the government. As a result, there was a quick succession of military juntas which ruled the country between 1939 and 1980.

Honduras participated in the Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) as a guest<sup>96</sup>. The Conference resolved to support the nationalist movement of the people of Honduras "to recover its natural resources and fight against the imperialist action of transnational enterprises that monopolize the banana production of that country"<sup>97</sup>. The Conference demanded that colonialism be eliminated from the country.

There was an increased political unrest in 1982, when trade union activists and their left-wing sympathisers were arrested and 35,000 refugees from El Salvador crossed into Honduras. The Honduran Government realized that for Miskito Indians refugees from Nicaragua were being used by Sandinista Government of Nicaragua as counter revolutionaries for attacks on Nicaragua<sup>98</sup>.

In January, 1983, President Suazo survived a challenge to his Government due to the defection of six PLH deputies, of whom three returned and three joined a new Opposition group in the national assembly, while General Alvarez supported the US policy and favoured Honduran involvement in the conflict along the border with Nicaraguan forces<sup>99</sup>. In September, 1983, there was an air and sea battle with Nicaragua, while to eradicate internal dissent, Alvarez killed about 100 left-wing guerrillas in an ambush.

In February, 1983, Honduras and US began a series of "joint manoeuvres" (called the Big Pine), which were expected to continue until 1990. The United States constructed military bases (air strips and two radar stations at Puerto Castilla) in Honduras under cover of friendship with this country. The two countries began to assist "Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries based in Honduras"<sup>100</sup>. On the other hand, there was a mounting public opposition to the US military presence in Honduras.

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95. Ibid., p. 690.

96. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 141.

97. Ibid., p. 149.

98. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 1287.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

The Managua NAM Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1983) urged Honduras and Nicaragua to settle their border dispute<sup>101</sup>. The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) expressed concern over the "growing involvement in the conflict of the army of Honduras" in Nicaragua and urged the US government to "adopt a constructive position"<sup>102</sup> for a peaceful solution of the dispute. The New York Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1983) reiterated its earlier resolutions on the issue.<sup>103</sup>

In 1985, due to deteriorating relations, the United States refused to enter into a "security pact" with Honduras, but agreed to take "appropriate measures" to defend Honduras against "Communist aggression"<sup>104</sup>. Fighting on the border with Nicaragua continued. In March, 1986, Sandinista troops crossed into Honduran territory, near Las Trojes. As a result Honduran forces, assisted militarily and economically by the United States, drove them away. However, President Azcona became anxious because the presence of US military stationed in Honduras. He requested the United States to remove the Nicaraguan Contra rebels from Honduras. Their settlement known as Nueva Nicaragua (New Nicaragua), affected the economy of Honduras. However, Honduras carried out military exercise with the United States (called 'Solid Shield') in April, 1987.

The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) pointed out that the dismantling of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign military advisers and the halt of military manoeuvres<sup>105</sup> would reduce the tension in the region. The New Delhi NAM Conference (1986) welcomed the Nicaraguan proposal to set up a joint commission of Nicaragua and Honduras to settle the border dispute and strengthen mutual confidence.<sup>106</sup> In August, 1987, Honduras, along with Guatemala, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Nicaragua, signed the Central American Peace Plan, which envisaged the end to rebel forces and use of foreign territory as a base for attack.<sup>107</sup>

Honduras has a border dispute with El Salvador over the island of Meanguera, in the Gulf of Fonseca, and several small stretches of the

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101. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 5.

102. Ibid., p. 35.

103. Ibid., p. 103.

104. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 1287.

105. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 186.

106. Ibid., p. 250.

107. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 1288.

land border covering some 400 sq. km. However, the Presidents of Honduras and Nicaragua signed an agreement to refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice.<sup>108</sup>

Honduras is in the grip of the United States, which supports the 2% landed aristocrats, the owners of the banana company. The liberals' demand for social justice is crushed by labelling it as "communism", though Communists have never played an important role as in El Salvador and Guatemala. However, 96% working population, which includes 44% people that are able to read and write, are getting inspiration from the NAM and have started protesting against the exploitation of their natural resources by foreigners. They are discontented with military rule.

In June, 1987, the United States supplied 12 F-5 fighter aircrafts to Honduras and US-Honduran joint military manoeuvres continued from 1987 to June, 1988. The US Defense Department (the Pentagon) were unable to account for an undermined amount of weapons and equipment used in the Blazing Trails, 1986 training exercises in Honduras and Panamá.<sup>109</sup>

In mid-1987, the Honduran Miskito Indians in the Mosquitia region of eastern Honduras were on the verge of armed rebellion demanding some degree of autonomy.<sup>110</sup>

The Honduran President, Sr Hoyo, was the last of the five signatories to the Central American Peace Pact to agree to the formation of a CRN. The move was opposed domestically as "the country held no political prisoners and already practised democracy".<sup>111</sup> However, the people demanded expulsion of US military units and of "irregular forces". In September, 1987, President Azcona promised to "prevent the use of (Honduran) territory"<sup>112</sup> by any foreign government. In April, 1988, there were serious riots and emergency was clamped over Tegucigalpa, the capital. The FMFC demanded the withdrawal of US troops and Nicaraguan anti-government 'Contras' stationed on Honduran territory.<sup>113</sup>

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108. Ibid.

109. Keesing's, n. 46, Vol. XXXIV, No. 7, July, 1988, p. 36012.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid., May, 1988, p. 35892.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid., p. 36011.

(6) NICARAGUA

Nicaragua achieved independence on September 15, 1821. There was Spanish rule over Nicaragua from the sixteenth century to 1821. In 1823, Guatemala declared independence from Mexico and formed the Central American Federation along with Nicaragua and El Salvador. On April 30, 1838, Nicaragua left the Federation and proclaimed its absolute independence. Soon the liberals (the Costenos) and conservatives (the Espanoles) began to struggle for supremacy. Leon was the centre of liberals and Granada that of the conservatives. Their struggle encouraged foreign intervention. As a result, Britain established a protectorate over the Miskito (east coast) and seized the port of San Juan del Norte and the United States tried to occupy the isthmus. In 1850, the United States and Britain signed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty by which "both the countries agreed not to occupy, fortify, colonize, or exercise dominion over any portion of Central America"<sup>114</sup>. The Nicaraguans struggled for freedom from outside rule and regained San Juan del Norte in 1852 and drove away William Walker, who was employed by the United States "to undermine the independence of Nicaragua"<sup>115</sup>, and who had proclaimed himself President of the country. In 1893, the Nicaraguans reoccupied the Miskito Coast. During this period, there was a state of civil war between the United States and Britain on the question of the construction of the Panama Canal.

In 1909, when General Jose Santos Zelaya, the Dictator of Nicaragua, allowed Britain to build the Canal, the United States withdrew its recognition of Nicaragua, and Zelaya was soon deposed. In 1912, a US force of 2,600 Marines landed in the area and in 1916, Nicaragua granted exclusive right to the United States to build the Canal. In 1925, the US Marines were withdrawn. At once a civil war between the liberals and the conservatives started and the US Marines returned in 1927.<sup>116</sup>

Augusto Cesar Sandino, opposed the US intervention and fought for seven years, engaging US Marines in more than 500 clashes and battles. In 1927, the United States signed the Boxthorn Pact with the local liberal and conservative bourgeoisie, organized a National Guard, and

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114. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 701.

115. Ivo Dvorak, The Non-Aligned Countries (London: Harney and Jones Limited, 1982), p. 521.

116. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. II, p. 2038.

installed Juan Baptista Sacasa as President. Sandino revolted, but when he was called for discussion with Sacasa, he was assassinated "on the orders of the US Embassy<sup>117</sup>" or "on Somoza's orders"<sup>118</sup>.

In 1936, Somoza carried out a coup and remained President until 1956, when he was assassinated. In 1957, Luis Somoza assumed presidency. Under the influence of the Non-aligned Movement, the people of Nicaragua formed the Sandinist Front of National Liberation (FSLN) in 1961, which launched armed struggle against Anastasio Somoza Debayle who declared himself Head of State for Life in 1967. He was assisted by "423 U.S. Rangers acting as advisers"<sup>119</sup>. The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1978) condemned the supply of arms by Israel to Nicaragua<sup>120</sup> to strengthen the Somoza government. Somoza received financial aid from US, Canada, Japan, Israel, West Germany and Spain. As a result, Nicaragua's foreign debt rose to \$ 1,087,000,000 in 1976, while its economy was controlled by the US investors. The Colombo NAM Ministerial Meeting (1979) urged to adopt "practical measures leading to the isolation of the Somoza tyranny and contributing effectively to the cause of the Nicaraguan people, so that they may freely choose their own destiny, without any form of outside interference, and enjoy freedom, peace and stability"<sup>121</sup>.

In December, 1972, there was a violent earthquake in the country. Since the international aid received for lacs of victims of the earthquake was embezzled by Somoza, a popular revolt broke out against him. Somoza fled from the country on July 17, 1979, and Sandinista forces entered Managua, the capital, and established a Government of National Reconstruction (GNR), which disbanded the National Guard, abrogated Somoza's constitution, confiscated his property. Somoza and his henchmen, with mercenaries trained at several camps in the United States, threatened to invade Nicaragua.

Nicaragua participated in the Havana NAM Summit Conference<sup>122</sup> (1979). The Conference expressed its satisfaction at the full national emancipation of Nicaraguan people.<sup>123</sup> It welcomed the decision of GNR "to sever

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117. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 521.

118. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, n.13, Vol.II, p. 2038.

119. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 521.

120. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 276.

121. Ibid., p. 380.

122. Ibid., p. 401.

123. Ibid., p. 405.

relations with the racist Apartheid regime<sup>124</sup> of South Africa. Nicaraguan representative also participated in the Nicosia NAM meeting (1982) of the Coordinating Bureau and carried messages to the Latin American countries of Spyros Kyprianou,<sup>125</sup> Fidel Castro Ruz,<sup>126</sup> Yasser Arafat,<sup>127</sup> Ismat Al-Kittani,<sup>128</sup> Isidoro Malmierca,<sup>129</sup> Nicos A. Rolandis,<sup>130</sup> Elias Sarkis<sup>131</sup> and Hafez El Assad.<sup>132</sup> Nicaragua hosted the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM in Managua (1983). Since the Imperialist powers, which dominated the World Bank and the IMF, imposed economic sanctions against Nicaragua, the Meeting, expressing its concern for the economic crisis facing the country, called on the Central American and Caribbean countries "to strengthen their ties of cooperation among themselves"<sup>133</sup> and asked the Imperialist powers "for an end to the embargo, the economic blockade and other coercive measures"<sup>134</sup>. The Meeting appreciated the Latin American countries within SELA and the 17th FAO Regional Conference, held in Nicaragua in September, 1982, for "establishing a collective food security system and opposing the use of food as a political weapon"<sup>135</sup>. The Meeting denounced "the use of Israel (a principal ally of the Somoza regime) by the United States in its interventionist practices in Latin America"<sup>136</sup> and noted that their policies have "reached the peak of imperialism". The Meeting condemned the US financing and training of the Somoza National Guard on its northern border and "violation of Nicaragua's airspace and territorial waters by United States planes and ships", resulting in blowing up of bridges and acts of sabotage aimed at overthrowing the Revolutionary Government of the country.

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124. Ibid., p. 407.

125. President of the Republic of Cyprus.

126. Chairman of the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries.

127. Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO.

128. President of the 36th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

129. Foreign Affairs Minister of Cuba and Chairman of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries.

130. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus.

131. President of the Lebanese Republic.

132. President of the Syrian Arab Republic.

133. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 4.

134. Ibid.

135. Ibid.

136. Ibid., p. 5.

Taking note of "dangerous deterioration" of relations between Honduras and Nicaragua, the Meeting praised the willingness of Mexico and Venezuela to help normalise their relations.<sup>137</sup>

Addressing the meeting, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, President of Nicaragua<sup>138</sup>, focussed attention on various problems and expressed concern over the "debt inherited from the Somoza dictatorship"<sup>139</sup>. He welcomed "Saint Lucia, Belize and Ecuador" as full members of the NAM. Emphasising the unity of the Movement, he said, "Our enemy knows of our differences and will try to play on them in order to divide, fragment and destroy us". He said that the United States had decided "to use all kinds of pressures against countries that belong to the Movement, in order to take the teeth out of it"<sup>140</sup> "...". He pointed out that the US military presence in Central America "was stepped up in an attempt to destabilize and destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution"<sup>141</sup>, because the United States considered it a result of the East's expansionism. To achieve this objective, the United States involved the high-ranking officials in Costa Rica to facilitate CIA's military operations against Nicaragua. US-Honduran operations were planned twice. US Air Force spy planes and warships off the coast of Nicaragua flagrantly violated the sovereignty of Nicaragua. The US-Honduran-Israeli-Costa Rican forces invaded Nicaragua more than 500 times and Somoza's National Guard spread terror, kidnapped, tortured and murdered hundreds of people, blew up three bridges, construction plants and Sandino Airport and two cigar factories.<sup>142</sup>

The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) reiterated the observations of the Nicosia Meeting and asserted that "the processes of change in Central America could not be attributed to or explained by an East-West ideological confrontation"<sup>143</sup>. It appealed the United States and Honduras to cease all hostile acts against Nicaragua and called for a dialogue "in conformity with the principles of international law"<sup>144</sup>.

137. Ibid.

138. Commander of the Revolution and Coordinator of the Council of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua.

139. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 11.

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid., p. 12.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid., p. 35.

144. Ibid.

The New York NAM Ministerial Meeting (1983) welcomed the Cancun Declaration of Peace in Central America issued by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela as well as the six-point proposal of the Nicaraguan Government and urged the US Government to respond positively and stressed the necessity of "signing of treaties of non-aggression and non-interference"<sup>145</sup> by the Central American states. The New York NAM Ministerial Meeting (1984) expressed grave concern over the imperialist interference in Nicaragua and the "installation of military bases and by covert and overt attempts at the destabilisation of the Nicaraguan Government"<sup>146</sup> and over aerial and naval attacks killing thousands of people.

The Luanda NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1985), reiterating the earlier resolutions, applauded the peace initiatives of the Contadora Group, composed of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela<sup>147</sup> and Contadora Act for Peace and Cooperation in Central America of September 7, 1984, which Nicaragua promptly agreed to sign. The Group, in a meeting held on July 22 and 23, 1985, formulated a 'six point proposal' for implementation to solve the crisis: "(1) the Contadora Act, (2) Actions towards detente; (3) Relations between Costa Rica and Nicaragua; (4) The Manzanillo dialogue; (5) International organizations; and (6) Latin American support"<sup>148</sup>. The NAM Ministers welcomed the Nicaraguan proposal for the creation of a "neutral zone of security on the border between Costa Rica and Nicaragua" and urged the two countries to establish such a zone to end the border incidents. The Ministers further condemned "the embargo and other coercive economic measures recently adopted against Nicaragua"<sup>149</sup>.

The NAM Ministerial Meeting, New Delhi, held in April, 1986, reiterated the Luanda resolutions and welcomed the efforts of Lima Group, composed of "Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay"<sup>150</sup> to support the Contadora Group for strengthening efforts for peace in the region.

The Harare NAM Summit Conference (1986) condemned the US allocation of US \$ 100 million<sup>151</sup> for training mercenary contra army, the CIA activities

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145. Ibid., p. 103.

146. Ibid., p. 120.

147. Ibid., p. 185.

148. Ibid., p. 186.

149. Ibid., p. 205.

150. Ibid., p. 250.

151. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXXVII, No. 875, September 20, 1986, p. 57.



and US Special Armed Forces with the aim of overthrowing the legitimate Nicaraguan Government. It urged the United States to comply with the decisions of the International Court of Justice delivered on June 27, 1986, which gave the verdict that the United States should make reparations to the Republic of Nicaragua<sup>152</sup>. It deplored the US disinclination to agree to any political solution of its dispute between the Nicaraguan government and the Contra.

Though Nicaragua signed the Central American Peace Agreement on August 7, 1987, and President Arias of Costa Rica was awarded the "1987 Nobel Peace Prize" on September 2, 1987, there was "a clash between armed Nicaraguan and Costa Rican border patrol boats"<sup>153</sup>.

The fourth round of top level talks between the Sandinista Government and Contra representatives in Managua on August 25-27, 1987, failed once again to achieve a definite ceasefire agreement<sup>154</sup>. However, in September, 1987, the Government opened the frontier post of Las Manos on the border with Honduras and encouraged 100,000 Nicaraguans to return to their country<sup>155</sup>.

On October 7, 1987, the United States criticized the "peace plan" of Costa Rica as it did not stipulate "Soviet bloc and Cuban forces to leave Nicaragua"<sup>156</sup>. President Reagan declared his intention to continue aid to Contra rebels until Sandinista Government negotiated with the Contras. The Nicaraguan President agreed to this if the Contra stopped hostilities. But the ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSIN) declared that "there will never, at any time or in any place, be any direct or indirect political dialogue"<sup>157</sup> with the Contras. However, the Contra leaders greeted the announcement and 985 political prisoners were released on November 22, 1987.

The United States invaded Nicaragua in December, 1989, which was condemned by all the member-countries of the Non-aligned Movement.

#### (7) PANAMA

The Province of Panama (11,292 sq. km.) is one of the nine provinces of the Republic of Panama called the bridge of the world. It was discovered

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152. Ibid., p. 58.

153. Keesing's, n. 46, Vol. XXXIV, No. 7, July, 1988, p. 36016.

154. Ibid., June, 1988, p. 35939.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid., May, 1988, p. 35890.

157. Ibid., p. 35891.

by Vasco Nunez de Balboa in 1513. It came under the Vice-Royalty of New Grenada in 1739, with the administrative centre at Bogota. In 1821, it split from Spain without bloodsheds and it was included in Great Colombia together with Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia. In 1841, it became a department of Colombia. In 1902, Colombia rejected the US proposal for completion of construction of the Panama Canal. The United States encouraged Panamanian separatist movement. The 'state idea' strengthened the movement and from 1898 to 1903, the region remained in a state of almost constant disorder and revolt<sup>158</sup>. With the help of the US armed forces, Panama declared its independence on November 3, 1904,<sup>159</sup> which the United States immediately recognised. Soon a Panama-US Treaty was signed. A French adventurer, who abused his mandate and signed on behalf of Panama, as a result of which the United States got undue rights over Panama in perpetuity. The United States established military bases in Panama, which became a constant threat to the Latin American nations. The United States also occupied the Canal Zone.

After the Second World War, the political and economic dependence on the United States became a major irritant to the people of the territory. Inspired by the NAM Conferences,<sup>160</sup> the people started an agitation to gain full sovereignty over their country. As a result, General Omar Torrijos overthrew the pro-US President Arnulfo Arias and the action of their's was supported by other Latin American countries, by the NAM and the UNO.<sup>161</sup> The Panama-US Treaty was replaced by the Torrijos-Carter Treaty in 1977, and gradually the US military bases were removed from the Canal Zone.

#### Panama Canal Zone

The Province of Panama includes the Panama Canal Zone, which extends for eight kilometres on either side of the Panama Canal and has a population of about 42,000.<sup>162</sup>

In 1902, the United States purchased the rights and assets of a French company which had stopped the construction of the Panama Canal and proposed unacceptable terms to Colombia for its completion. When Colombia refused to accede to the proposal, the United States launched

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158. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 736.

159. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 563.

160. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, pp. 73, 96 and 121.

161. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 563.

162. R.B. Sehgal Lal, Modern Geography (Ambala Cantt: n.d.), p. 537.

a separatist movement and recognised the separation of Panama from the Great Colombia<sup>163</sup> and its independence<sup>164</sup> on November 3, 1904. It also occupied the Canal Zone and established its military bases there. Thus, Panama was partially colonized. In 1964, 21 Panamanian students were killed when they tried to raise the flag of the Revolutionary Government of Panama. President General Omar Torrijos Herrera led the movement for complete sovereignty of Panama, supported by all the Latin American countries which were members of the NAM.<sup>165</sup> Decades of US repressive measures and the struggle for decolonization of the Panama Canal Zone united the Panamanians.

The NAM Ministerial Meeting held at Havana in March, 1975, supported Panama's struggle "to do away with the unjust Treaty of 1903"<sup>166</sup> for the recovery of the Zone from the United States. The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) reiterating the Havana resolution on the issue, charged the Coordinating Bureau of the NAM with "the task of taking appropriate action"<sup>167</sup> in the matter and condemned the US measures designed to undermine the Revolutionary Government and to kill the revolutionary leaders. The Algiers NAM Coordinating Bureau Meeting (1976) expressed solidarity with the people and the Government of Panama in their just struggle for sovereignty over the Canal Zone.<sup>168</sup> The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) reiterated its earlier adoption<sup>169</sup> on the subject and offered Panama any support that it might require.<sup>170</sup>

In 1977, the United States signed the Torrijos-Carter Treaty, which abrogated the earlier treaty and stipulated that the Panama Canal would become fully Panamanian in the year 2000 and also provided for the gradual dismantling of the US military bases<sup>171</sup> in the region. However, the US Senate added in the Treaty the US right to intervene "in the defence of the Canal". Torrijos threatened: "They may intervene but when

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163. Panama was included in Great Colombia together with Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia in 1841.

164. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 563; "Independence Day (1903)".

165. Ibid.

166. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 135.

167. Ibid., p. 148.

168. Ibid., p. 182.

169. Ibid., p. 193.

170. Ibid., p. 200.

they arrive, they'll find a destroyed canal<sup>172</sup>". The Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979) welcomed the "victory of the people of Panama in the struggle for the restoration of their sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone<sup>173</sup>".

On July 31, 1981, Torrijos was killed when his plane crashed.

(C) SOUTH AMERICAN STATES

(1) ARGENTINA

Argentina claims the Falklands (known in Argentina as Islas Malvinas), South Georgias, the South Sandwich Islands and parts of Antarctica as her territory. The capital is Buenos Aires. The new capital ViedmaCarmen de Patagones is expected to be completed in 1995.<sup>174</sup>

Argentina had territorial dispute with Chile over three small islands in the Beagle Channel. In March, 1981, the award by the Pope of Vatican City, who acted as a mediator, of the islands to Chile, was rejected by Argentina, which threatened military action against Chile. The new government, which came to power in December, 1983, signed a treaty of peace and friendship with Chile in January, 1984, which guaranteed Argentine rights over deposits of petroleum and other minerals in the disputed waters in South Atlantic.<sup>175</sup>

Argentina joined the NAM as an observer for the first time at its Cairo Summit Conference<sup>176</sup> (1964) and as a full member at the Algiers Summit Conference<sup>177</sup> (1973), which supported the Argentine people "in the struggle for an authentic independence and social progress<sup>178</sup>". The Havana meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1975) of NAM mentioned Argentina as an active member<sup>179</sup> of the Non-aligned Movement. Its Havana Meeting (1978) urged that the Malvinas Islands should be restored to the Republic of Argentina.<sup>180</sup> The Belgrade NAM Ministerial Conference (1978)

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172. Ibid.

173. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 404.

174. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 344.

175. Ibid., p. 346.

176. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 17.

177. Ibid., p. 120. See also Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 799.

178. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 96.

179. Ibid., p. 129.

180. Ibid., p. 282.

reiterated this resolution<sup>181</sup>. The Managua Meeting of NAM (1983) stated that "Malvinas, South Georgias and South Sandwich islands are integral part of the Latin American region" and asserted that for fair, peaceful and permanent solution decisions of the NAM and GA resolutions 1514 (XV), 2065 (XX), 3160 (XXVIII), 31/49 and 37/9, and SC Resolutions 502 (1982) and 505 (1982) should be implemented<sup>182</sup>. The Ministers considered that the "massive military and naval presence and activities" of the United Kingdom in Malvinas were the cause of grave concern<sup>183</sup> to the countries in the region. The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference<sup>184</sup> (1983), its New York Meeting<sup>185</sup> (1983), and the New Delhi Ministerial Meeting<sup>186</sup> of NAM (1986) reiterated the same. The Harare NAM Summit Conference (1986) reaffirmed that the Argentine Government had given assurance to respect and guarantee the "maintenance of the way of life", traditions, cultures and safeguards of the islanders<sup>187</sup>.

## (2) BOLIVIA

Bolivia was conquered by Spain in 1538. There were many revolts against Spanish rule. The country achieved independence in 1825. The country suffered from internal strife and recurrent succession of Presidents and wars, such as, the War of the Pacific (1879-83) between Bolivia, Peru and Chile, and the Chaco Wars (1928-30) and War against Paraguay (1933-35).

Bolivia was represented in the NAM as an Observer for the first time at its Belgrade Summit Conference<sup>188</sup> (1961). The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting (1978) condemned the expanding ties of Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and other countries, with the racist regime of South Africa<sup>189</sup>. Bolivia attended the Belgrade NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1978) also as an Observer<sup>190</sup>. The Colombo NAM Ministerial Meeting (1979) accepted

181. Ibid., p. 309.

182. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, pp. 7-8.

183. Ibid., p. 8.

184. Ibid., p. 37.

185. Ibid., pp. 104 and 121.

186. Ibid., p. 252.

187. Review of International Affairs, n. 151, p. 60.

188. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 5.

189. Ibid., p. 282.

190. Ibid., p. 340.

the application of Bolivia for full membership of the Non-aligned Movement<sup>191</sup>. It became a member<sup>192</sup> of the NAM at its Havana Summit Conference in 1979.

Bolivia claims access to the Pacific Ocean through the Chilean territory. As Chile rejected this claim, there was tension between the two countries, resulting in break of diplomatic relations in 1978. The Managua Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1983) supported Bolivia's "legitimate and rightful claim to a direct and useful outlet to the Pacific Ocean" and urged all states "to voice their solidarity with this inalienable right". It commended Bolivia's "democratic and constitutional process"<sup>193</sup> as set forth in the UN Charter and the NAM framework. The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference<sup>194</sup> (1983), its New York Meeting<sup>195</sup> (1983), the New Delhi NAM extraordinary meeting<sup>196</sup> (1985) and the New Delhi NAM Ministerial Meeting<sup>197</sup> (1986) reiterated the same. The Harare NAM Summit Conference (1986) noted with interest the "auspicious opening initiated between the Governments of Bolivia and Chile" and hoped that "through this process the Bolivian maritime problem will be solved"<sup>198</sup>. However, the negotiations failed to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problem. The Government of Paz Estensoro desired to reopen the negotiation on this issue in June, 1987, but the Chilean Government rejected any possibility of this<sup>199</sup>.

### (3) BRAZIL

Brazil, the fifth largest country in the world, was a Portuguese possession and became an independent Monarchy in 1822, and a republic in 1889. A federal constitution for the United States of Brazil was adopted in 1891. There was social unrest in the 1920s and an economic crisis in 1930, resulting in a major revolt<sup>200</sup>.

191. Ibid., p. 370.

192. Ibid., p. 401; see also Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 799.

193. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 8.

194. Ibid., p. 37.

195. Ibid., p. 188.

196. Ibid., p. 104.

197. Ibid., p. 252.

198. Review of International Affairs, n. 151, p. 60.

199. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 509.

200. Ibid., p. 536.

The Preparatory Meeting for the first NAM Summit Conference held at Cairo in June, 1961, was represented by an Observer of Brazil<sup>201</sup>. In September, 1985, Brazil joined the Lima Group of Support for the Contador Group along with Argentina, Peru and Uruguay with the goals of establishing solidarity, independence and justice in Latin America<sup>202</sup>.

In 1982, the war between Britain and Argentina on the question of Falkland Islands caused tension in Brazil. Its relations with the United States have deteriorated due to dispute over trade. Brazil has established close relations with Surinam, which was provided "military and economic assistance" in order to undermine its links with Cuba<sup>203</sup>.

#### (4) CHILE

Chile was ruled by Spain from the sixteenth century until its independence in 1818. During the nineteenth century, it was governed by "a small oligarchy of landowners"<sup>204</sup>. It won the War of the Pacific (1879-83) against Peru and Bolivia.

Chile was represented by an Observer at the Cairo NAM Summit Conference<sup>205</sup> (1964). Then it participated in the Georgetown Conference<sup>206</sup> of Foreign Ministers of NAM Countries (1972), and attended the Kabul NAM Meeting (1973) also as an Observer<sup>207</sup>. The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) commended the people of Chile for their struggle "to strengthen independence and build a new society"<sup>208</sup>. The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting (1975) condemned the existence of foreign military bases in Chile against the will of its people and the illegal activities of powerful trans-national corporations in the country<sup>209</sup>. It expressed grief over the overthrow of President Salvador Allende, who had fought "courageously against the reactionary coup and imperialism"<sup>210</sup>. The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) expressed concern over the imperialist rule over Chile and the

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201. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 1.

202. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 186.

203. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 537.

204. Ibid., p. 639.

205. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 17.

206. Ibid., p. 69.

207. Ibid., p. 87.

208. Ibid., p. 96.

209. Ibid., p. 131.

210. Ibid., p. 134.

refusal of the Military Junta to allow the UN Commission on Human Rights to visit the country<sup>211</sup>, which was reiterated by the Algiers meeting of the Coordinating Bureau<sup>212</sup> of NAM held in 1976. The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) paid tribute to the heroic deeds of the freedom fighters and freedom-loving martyrs in Chile and called for the - perpetuation of the memory of President Salvador Allende along with Bandaranaike, Patrice Lumumba and Amilcar Cabral<sup>213</sup>. The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1978) appealed to the United Nations "to restore human rights and fundamental freedoms in Chile, and to try to obtain information on the whereabouts of the missing persons in that country"<sup>214</sup>. The Belgrade NAM Ministerial Conference (1978) demanded the implementation of the resolution of the 32nd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations relating to Chile and condemned the "violations of democratic rights"<sup>215</sup> in the country. The Colombo NAM Ministerial Meeting (1979) reiterated its earlier decisions on the subject and called upon all the states "to adopt measures to facilitate the speedy restitution of democratic rights in Chile"<sup>216</sup>. The Managua Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1983) reaffirmed the "legitimate aspirations of the Chilean people to restore their fundamental freedoms and basic human rights"<sup>217</sup>. The New Delhi Ministerial Meeting of the organization (1986) supported the struggle of the Chilean people for "civil, political and social rights" and condemned the violations of human rights and repression of the Military Junta<sup>218</sup>.

Chile has a border dispute with Bolivia. It refused to allow access to Bolivia through Chile to the sea. As a result, Bolivia broke off diplomatic relations with the country in 1978. Chile had dispute with Argentina too on the question of sovereignty over "three small islands" in the Beagle Channel, which brought them to the verge of war. In October, 1984, the Pope brought about a total agreement on the issue between Chile and Argentina. Under the terms of the agreement Chile was awarded 12 islands and islets to the south of the Beagle Channel<sup>219</sup>.

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211. Ibid., p. 149.

212. Ibid., p. 182.

213. Ibid., p. 235.

214. Ibid., p. 282.

215. Ibid., pp. 310-11.

216. Ibid., p. 380.

217. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 8.

218. Ibid., p. 252.

219. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 699.



In 1985, the people of Isla de Pascua (Eastern Island) criticized and protested against the Chilean permission for the establishment of the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) on the Mataverí airstrip. But in spite of this, the NASA was established there<sup>220</sup> in August, 1987.

#### (5) COLOMBIA

Colombia was under the Spanish rule from the sixteenth century until its independence in 1819, as part of Gran Colombia (including Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela). Ecuador and Colombia seceded in 1830, and Panama rebelled and became independent in 1903. Thus, Colombia became a separate republic.<sup>221</sup>

The country was represented by an Observer<sup>222</sup> at the Dar es Salaam Preparatory Meeting of the NAM countries held in April, 1970. The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1975) supported the peoples' "nationalistic and independent measures" aimed at recovering their natural resources,<sup>223</sup> and the Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) condemned the US Trade Bill which affected the Latin American countries.<sup>224</sup> On January 8-9, 1983, the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, along with those of Mexico, Panama and Venezuela decided to invite other Latin American and Caribbean countries to join them for promoting peace in the region.<sup>225</sup> The New York NAM Meeting (1983) welcomed the Cancun Declaration of Peace in Central America issued by these four countries urging the United States to defuse tension in the region.<sup>226</sup> The meeting of the Foreign Ministers of NAM countries held at Luanda (1985) also applauded the peace initiative of the four Latin American countries of the Contadora Group.

Colombia and Venezuela have a long-standing border dispute. In May, 1987, Venezuela rejected Colombia's proposal for negotiation on the issue and closed its border with Colombia.

In 1980, Nicaragua claimed Colombian controlled islands of Providencia and San Andres. Again, Honduras claimed its sovereignty over

220. Ibid.

221. Ibid., p. 760.

222. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 34.

223. Ibid., p. 135.

224. Ibid., p. 149.

225. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, pp. 5-6.

226. Ibid., p. 103.

227. Ibid., p. 185.

the cays in the San Andres and Providencia archipelago. Colombia improved its relations with Nicaragua and Cuba, and as a member of the Contadora Group, it supported the demand for the withdrawal of US troops from El Salvador and Honduras.<sup>229</sup>

#### (6) ECUADOR

The Republic of Ecuador, including the off shore Galapagos Islands lies on the west coast of South America. Spain ruled over Ecuador from the sixteenth century until 1822, when it achieved independence as part of Gran Colombia.<sup>230</sup> In 1830, Ecuador seceded from Gran Colombia and became a separate republic. Until 1948, there was rapid succession of Presidents, dictators and juntas. Between 1830 and 1925, the country was governed by different regimes and from 1925 to 1948, there were 22 heads of state.<sup>231</sup>

Ecuador's Observer attended the Belgrade Summit Conference<sup>232</sup> (1961) and the Georgetown Conference<sup>233</sup> (1972) of NAM. The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1975) encouraged Ecuador to take independent measures to protect its natural resources.<sup>234</sup> The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) and its Colombo Summit Conference (1976) reiterated the same and condemned the US Trade Law, which adversely affected the Latin American countries. The Managua Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1983) noted with satisfaction the admission of Ecuador, Belize and Saint Lucia a little more than a year ago into the NAM movement<sup>237</sup> and welcomed them as full members.<sup>238</sup>

A long-standing border dispute between Ecuador and Peru erupted into war during 1981-1983. Again Ecuadorean and Colombian forces clashed on their borders in 1982. Ecuador broke off relations with Nicaragua in October, 1985, and also withdrew from the Contadora Group of countries.<sup>239</sup>

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228. The Europa Year Book, n. 13, Vol. I, p. 761.

229. Ibid.

230. Ibid., p. 929.

231. Ibid.

232. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 5.

233. Ibid., p. 70.

234. Ibid., p. 135.

235. Ibid., p. 149.

236. Ibid., p. 201.

237. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 2.

238. Ibid., p. 11.

239. The Europa Year Book, n. 14, Vol. I, p. 930.

(7) PARAGUAY

Paraguay was ruled over by Spain from the sixteenth century until it achieved independence in 1811. Since 1814, Paraguay has been ruled by a succession of dictators. It lost more than one-half of its population in its 1865 war against Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, and was involved in Chaco Wars (1928-30 and 1933-35) against Bolivia and after heavy losses it won the disputed islands. Its boundaries were ultimately fixed in 1938.

The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) noted with concern the visit of the Head of State of South Africa to Uruguay, Paraguay<sup>241</sup> and Chile and their growing cooperation with it. The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting (1978) condemned the "expanding ties between Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and other countries, with the racist regime of South Africa"<sup>242</sup>.

(8) PERU

The Inca Empire of the last indigenous rulers of Peru ended in the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards reached there. It became independent in 1826, and ever since it has been ruled over by military dictators.

Peru has border dispute with Ecuador over the Cordillera del Condor, which was awarded to the former under the Rio de Janeiro Protocol of 1942, to accord it access to the Amazon river basin.<sup>243</sup>

Peru was represented in the NAM for the first time in September, 1969, when its delegates attended the informal meeting of the Foreign Ministers of NAM countries held in New York as Observers.<sup>244</sup> It participated in the Kabul Meeting of NAM (1973) as a Guest.<sup>245</sup> The Algiers Summit Conference (1973) - which Peru attended as a full member, commended the struggle of its people "to ensure national sovereignty, to regain the resources of the country and to change the economic and social structures of the country"<sup>247</sup>. Peru hosted the Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975).<sup>248</sup>

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240. Ibid., p. 2122.

241. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 144.

242. Ibid., p. 282.

243. The Europa Year Book, n. 14, Vol. II, p. 2191.

244. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 31.

245. Ibid., p. 87.

246. Ibid., p. 120; see also Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 799.

247. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 96.

248. Ibid., p. 144.

The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1975) reaffirmed its solidarity with the revolutionary government of the armed forces of Peru presided over by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, condemned the "intrigues and reactionary plots against the Peruvian government, fostered by imperialist interests" and welcomed the initiative taken by its government "to have the countries of the Andean Group establish an agreement on the limitation of offensive weapons"<sup>249</sup>. The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) also condemned "any act or threat against the Peruvian Revolution instigated by imperialistic interests"<sup>250</sup>. The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) elected Peru as one of the Coordinators of the Action Programme of the Coordinating Bureau<sup>251</sup>. The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) welcomed the formation of the Lima Group of Support for the Contadora Group composed of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay, with a view to achieving the goal of independence<sup>252</sup>. The New York Meeting of NAM (1985) appreciated Peru's offer to establish a Centre for Disarmament, Security, Peace and Development, in order to foster the objectives of the United Nations in Latin America<sup>253</sup>.

#### (9) URUGUAY

Uruguay is the smallest of all South American republics, but is one of the most prosperous ones.

Uruguay was represented by its Observers at the Cairo NAM Summit Conference<sup>254</sup> (1964). The Lima Conference of NAM (1975) noted with concern the visit of the Head of State of South Africa to Uruguay and growing cooperation between the two countries<sup>255</sup>. The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1978) reiterated the same. The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) noted with satisfaction the formation of the Lima Group of Support for the Contadora Group, composed of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay and hoped that it would work for achievement of the "goals

249. Ibid., p. 135.

250. Ibid., p. 147.

251. Ibid., pp. 221 and 223.

252. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 186.

253. Ibid., p. 234.

254. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 17.

255. Ibid., p. 144.

256. Ibid., p. 282.

of solidarity, independence and justice<sup>257</sup>". The New Delhi Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1986) reiterated the same<sup>258</sup>.

(10) VENEZUELA

Venezuela lies on the northern coast of South America. It was a Spanish colony from 1499 to 1821. Under the leadership of Simon Boliver, it achieved independence in 1830. The country was governed by dictators until 1945.

Its delegates first attended the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) as Observers<sup>259</sup>. The Havana Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1975) commended the struggle of the people of Venezuela for "nationalistic and independent measures"<sup>260</sup> aimed at recovering their natural resources. On January 8-9, 1983, the Foreign Minister of Venezuela, along with those of Mexico, Panama and Colombia took measures for ensuring peaceful coexistence, inviting other Latin American and Caribbean nations<sup>261</sup>.

In March, 1985, Venezuela and Guyana requested UN mediation for solving their dispute over the Essequibo region. Venezuela also claims "some islands in the Netherlands Antilles"<sup>262</sup>. It has a territorial dispute with Colombia too, regarding over their boundaries in the Gulf of Venezuela. In 1987, it closed its borders with Colombia. During the Falkland War (1982), Venezuela supported Argentina, and in consequence its relations with the United States became strained. Venezuela has improved its relations with the Caribbean islands.

(D) ISLAND REPUBLICS

(1) CUBA

Columbus discovered Cuba on October 27, 1492. The Spanish colonists exterminated the Cuban aborigines who were replaced by slaves brought

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257. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, p. 186.

258. Ibid., p. 250.

259. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 17.

260. Ibid., p. 135.

261. Ibid., p. 149; see also Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 23, pp. 5-6.

262. The Europa Year Book, n. 14, Vol. II, p. 3015.

over from Africa. In the eighteenth century, the British occupied Havana, which ended on July 6, 1793, after a war with Spain.

Spain imposed heavy taxes. As a result, on October 10, 1868, with the help of Cuban slave-owning landlords, Carlos Manuel de Cespedes waged the First War of Independence. Jose Marti founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party (CRP) towards the end of the nineteenth century, when the United States was extending its sphere of influence to the Caribbean area. The CRP demanded independence and aimed at eliminating the threat of US domination over Cuba. However, after a 3-year fierce fighting, in which Jose Marti and Antonio Maceo were killed, the Spanish army was virtually defeated in 1898. During the war, a US battleship was blown up, which had made the United States to enter the war. The United States and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris behind the back of the Cubans, under which Spain ceded Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam to the United States, which had been occupied by the US troops. Owing to the Cuban rebellion and war for independence, the United States could not annex the territory and it was formally granted independence on May 20, 1902.

Independence did not brought real freedom to Cuba because part of the constitution (the Platt Amendment), drawn up jointly by the US and Cuban leaders, gave the right to the United States "to intervene if necessary in the domestic affairs of the island"<sup>263</sup>, and to establish a naval base at Guantanamo Bay. The amendment was renounced by the United States in 1934, but this did not bring an end to "political conflicts, or to dishonesty and mismanagement"<sup>264</sup> by those in power. The US domination lasted 57 years, during which the US capital controlled almost every big enterprises at the cost of "chronic unemployment, illiteracy, moral degeneration, political and administrative corruption and anti-democratic governments"<sup>265</sup>. The Cuban workers and the revolutionary movement in the country were influenced by the 1917 Soviet Revolution at a time when there was a serious economic crisis in Cuba. The trade unions, the National Confederation of Cuban Workers and the Cuban Marxist Party revolutionised the students. The tyrannical regime of Gerardo

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263. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 767.

264. Ibid.

265. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 159.

Machado Morales (1925-1933) was overthrown and a Provisional Revolutionary Government of a nationalist character was established in the country.

During the rule of Ramon Grau San Martin (1944-1948) and Carlos Prío Socarras (1948-1952), discontent grew. On March 10, 1952, Fulgencio Batista seized power through a military coup. Batista government was characterized by unemployment, hunger, poverty and disease. Fidel Castro denounced in his speech, published later under the title, History Will Absolve Me, the anti-democratic government and corruption in the country, and founded a Movement on July 26, 1952, for a democratic government in the country. Fidel Castro was imprisoned, while students confronted the police every day. In an attack on President Batista's Palace, a number of students were killed, which "set an example for the struggle which followed"<sup>266</sup>. Fidel Castro, Raul Castro and Juan Almeida from outside and the People's Socialist Party and the Directorate from inside, attacked and defeated Batista forces. His dictatorship ended on December 31, 1958. Batista fled to Santo Domingo and many of his men made their way to the United States. Fidel Castro became Prime Minister of Cuba and Osvaldo Dorticos was appointed President. Thus, the country got complete independence.

In its struggle for independence, the Cubans were inspired by the NAM objectives and plans, propagating self-determination, non-alignment and peace during the 1950s. In fact, the emergence of India in August, 1947, as an independent state had marked the beginning of the anti-colonial revolution and nationalist movement on the world stage. Like the Asian and African nations, the Latin American people, including Cubans, realised that the US interventionist policy was practised mainly for the purpose of exploiting their natural resources. Therefore, they revolted against the US domination.

Cuba was admitted to the United Nations in 1945 and joined the Non-aligned Movement in September, 1961, at its Summit Conference held in Belgrade. Thus, Cuba is one of the founder-members of the Non-aligned Movement.

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266. Ibid., p. 161.

267. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 1.

(2) DOMINICAN REPUBLIC &

(3) HAITI

The Latin American states and the Caribbean nations are so inter-related that during his visit to Buenos Aires the Peruvian President Garcia in November, 1986, emphasized the need "to create an organization of American states within Latin American and Caribbean nations" to confront the "northern neighbour"<sup>268</sup> i.e. USA.

Since Dominican Republic and Haiti lie in the Windward Islands group of the West Indies in the Caribbean Sea, their details have been given in Chapter VII.

(E) CENTRAL AMERICAN GUIANAS

(1) GUYANA (British Guiana)

In 1831, Guyana became a British colony. The colonialists exploited the socio-economic differences between the ethnic communities and denied the local people participation in the government. The first trade union was formed in the country in 1922 and a large-scale movement was launched under its leadership. Since the demonstrations could not be suppressed, on the eve of the Second World War the British introduced some reforms, expanding suffrage and granting greater parliamentary representation to the colonial people. The 1947-elections returned Cheddi Jagan to the Legislative Council. The Communist minority began to use to its advantage the poverty and frustration due to chronic unemployment, while the people were "inexperienced in democratic processes"<sup>269</sup>.

Together with the union leaders, Cheddi Jagan founded the Political Affairs Committee, called the Progressive People's Party (PPP). A strong independence movement forced the Government to introduce universal suffrage, (from which illiterates were excluded) and an Assembly and a Council of State were established in the country. The 1953-elections were won by the PPP. Forbes Burnham became President and Cheddi Jagan became Prime Minister. The new government changed

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268. Keesing's, n. 46, Vol. XXXIV, No. 2, February, 1988, p.35708.

269. Preston E. James, n. 33, p. 854.



a number of repressive laws, adopted measure for reforms and refused to receive the British Queen. The United States and the British government were alarmed at this. The British bureaucracy began to sabotage the government. The British warships arrived 133 days after the new government had assumed charge, suspended the constitution of British Guyana, imprisoned Burnham and Jagan and clamped a state of emergency over the country for four <sup>270</sup>years.

As the British created ethnic differences, the PFP split in 1955. Jagan continued to lead the PPP, while Burnham formed the People's National Congress (PNC). In 1957, the British gave the country a new constitution. The 1957-elections were won by the PPP and the party intensified the movement for the decolonization of Guyana.

Prime Minister Jagan's development programme required large investments, but since the international credit organizations were controlled by the United States and Britain, his appeal for assistance was turned down by the Western countries. As a result, in 1959, the government projects were blocked. Further, as Jagan could not receive assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries due to British control over its foreign trade and external affairs, the PPP intensified its demand for independence.

The PPP won the 1961-elections also, but the PNC broke out its alliance with it. The two parties entered into an agreement in 1962. Jagan adopted an austerity budget to benefit the poor, which was opposed by landlords and the Guyanese bourgeoisie. Riots broke out in 1962 and 1963.

Meanwhile, a Conference of the governments of the Non-aligned countries was held in Cairo in June, 1961, which adopted a 6-point programme for establishment and strengthening of international peace and security, including struggle against imperialism and liquidation of colonialism.<sup>271</sup> Again, the Belgrade NAM Conference (1961) gave a call for the elimination of colonialism and for eradicating sources of international conflicts.<sup>272</sup> Further, the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964)

270. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 282.

271. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 2.

272. Ibid., p. 5.

resolved to take effective measures for decolonization.<sup>273</sup>

The NAM resolutions encouraged the people of Guyana to fight for their rights and the British called for a constitutional conference in 1964. Jagan did not participate in it. However, as decided by this Conference, the British Guyana became independent<sup>274</sup> on May 26, 1966. The country was re-named as the Cooperative Republic of Guyana on February 23, 1970. Guyana became an active member<sup>275</sup> of the NAM, in September, 1970.

## (2) SURINAM (Dutch Guiana)

In 1593, Philip II of Spain took official possession of Surinam and in 1667, the English ceded it to Holland in exchange for New Amsterdam (today's New York). Under the Treaty of Vienna (1815), it was ceded<sup>276</sup> to Holland (the Netherlands).

During the Second World War, the Nazi Germany occupied Holland and the Japanese conquered Indonesia, which were major Dutch colonial possessions. After the War, the Dutch Government granted universal suffrage to its overseas colonies, which gave the people a certain degree of autonomy<sup>277</sup>, under the Magna Carta (1954) with Dutch control over defence, foreign trade and external relations. Inspired by the NAM, the people of Surinam intensified their struggle for independence during the 1960s.

The Dutch created differences between different ethnic groups and political parties were encouraged to organise themselves along social lines. In 1967, twelve parties contested elections in Surinam. In 1969, due to a spate of strikes, Prime Minister Penzel resigned. In the March, 1969-elections, the Hindustani Party won 19 out of 39 seats, and its leader, Jaggernauth Lachmon formed a coalition government with Jules Sedney, leader of the National Party of Surinam. In 1973, workers' strikes swept the country and elections were held again. The coalition

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273. Ibid., pp. 17-27.

274. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 283.

275. Ibid.

276. The Europa Year Book, n. 14, Vol.II, p. 2489.

277. Ivo Dvorak, n. 115, p. 661.

of the NPS, the Republican National Party (RNP) and others defeated<sup>278</sup> Sedney and negotiated with Holland for full independence. Under the<sup>279</sup> Premiership of Henck Arron, the country was declared independent on November 25, 1975. The Colombo NAM Ministerial Meeting (1979) granted<sup>280</sup> it NAM membership.

A new constitution received "overwhelming approval"<sup>281</sup> in a nation-wide referendum on September 30, 1987 (after the first National Assembly elections) and was approved by the military-appointed National Assembly on March 5, 1988.

On July 4, 1987, Lt. Gen. Bouterse formed the National Democratic Party (NDP) and three political parties had, in June, 1987, merged to form the Front for Democracy and Development (FDD). On the Day of Independence, November 5, 1987, in a general election held on that day, FDD defeated the NDP. FDD lost only one seat in the capital - Paramaribo. During the elections campaign, FDD promised "to restore Surinam's ties with the Netherlands"<sup>282</sup>.

In the beginning of 1987, Surinam faced "economic crisis" - shortage of food and fuel. The Netherlands government, in March, 1987, stated to aid the country after restoration of "democracy and fundamental rights"<sup>283</sup>. The United States and France warned Surinam against providing a military base in Surinam to Libya for "terrorist operations"<sup>284</sup> in Latin America and the Caribbean. However, in 1986-87, Surinam signed an agreement with Libya, which aided it with \$ 100,000,000 and 200 Libyan advisers were stationed in the country.<sup>285</sup> France re-inforced its military presence along the Surinam-French Guiana border as a "warning". However, on October 1, 1987, Col. Bouterse assured that Surinam posed no threat to French Guiana. On January 26, 1988, the US government announced resumption of its aid to Surinam which had been cut off in 1987.

278. Ibid., p. 662.

279. Ibid.

280. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 14, p. 370.

281. Keesing's, n. 46, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, March, 1988, p. 35758.

282. Ibid., p. 35759.

283. Ibid., p. 35760.

284. Ibid., p. 35761; see also The Times (London), February 27, 1987.

285. Keesing's, Ibid.

(3) FRENCH GUIANA

French Guiana with its capital, Cayenne, is the smallest of the Guiana colonies having a population of 27,863, according to the census of 1951. Most of the people living on the coastal lowland are Negroes while 5 per cent are white people. It was established as a French colony in 1817. It includes the Devil's Island, a notorious pena<sup>286</sup> colony, a place of exile for convicts and political prisoners until 1937. In 1945, the convicts returned to France. French Guiana became an integral part of the French Republic in 1946. Its administrative structure is similar to that of the Departments of Metropolitan France<sup>286</sup>.

After the Second World War, the French Government started utilising the economic potential of this colony. There is only a small area of about 6,700 acres (less than 11 square miles) of cultivated land in the colony. Most of its people are poor and illiterate. Since 1970, there has been a growth of pro-independence sentiments<sup>287</sup> in the territory.

French Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac, claimed that the population of French Guiana felt as an integrated part of French civilization<sup>288</sup> and largely contributed to enrich it, as France met the wishes of the great majority of its population and helped it in the way of "capital equipment, economic development, health and education services"<sup>289</sup>. Since promised expansion and development of the country failed to materialise, there was a demand<sup>290</sup> for greater autonomy by its people. In 1980, there were several bomb attacks against colonialist targets by an extremist group, but France "refused to countenance any change"<sup>291</sup> in the island's status.

In 1986-87, there was an uprising in Surinam. As a result Surinamese refugees came to French Guiana. French troops patrolled the border between the two Guianas. The Surinamese Government accused France of preparing for an invasion of Surinam via French Guiana.

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286. The Europa Year Book, n. 14, Vol. I, p. 1080.

287. Ibid.

288. Pacific Islands Monthly(Sydney), Vol. 46, No.6, June, 1975, p. 3.

289. Ibid.

290. The Europa Year Book, n.14, Vol. I, p. 1080.

291. Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The objectives of the Non-aligned Movement became an effective instrument for keeping peace in the world. The like-minded Latin American countries joined the Afro-Asian leaders.

Admitted to the Non-aligned Movement with a status of an Observer were Brazil and Ecuador in 1961, Chile, Mexico, Uruguay and Venezuela in 1964, Colombia in 1970, El Salvador in 1975, and Costa Rica in 1979.

Some countries became member of the Non-aligned Movement. Cuba became member in 1961, Guyana in 1970, Argentina and Peru in 1973, Panama in 1976, and Bolivia, Nicaragua and Surinam in 1979.

Some countries became independent. Guyana became independent on May 26, 1966, Surinam on November 25, 1975, Dominican Republic in 1978, Nicaragua on July 17, 1979, Belize on September 21, 1981, and Haiti in 1988. French Guiana is still a French Colony. Paraguay and Uruguay have relations with the South African regime although they are members of the Contadora Group.

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## CHAPTER VII

### NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN THE CARIBBEAN SEA

The territories lying in the Caribbean Sea are administered by three colonial powers: (A) France, (B) the United Kingdom and (C) the United States, and are called 'the West Indies'. This name is given to a large archipelago lying in the Atlantic Ocean between North and South Americas. They lie between  $13^{\circ}\text{N}$  and  $24^{\circ}\text{N}$ . Their whole area is less than that of Britain. Almost all the islands are volcanic except the Bahamas, which are of coral formation. There are about 12,000 islands of which only 185 are inhabited. The total area is 92,000 sq. miles.

#### (A) FRENCH TERRITORIES

##### (1) GUADALOUPE

The dependencies of Guadeloupe are Marie Galante, La Desirade, Les des Saintes, St. Barthelemy and the northern half of St. Martin. It has been divided into two regions - Basse-Terre in the west, and Grande-Terre in the east, with an area of 364 and 219 sq. miles respectively.

France occupied it in 1635 and imposed departmental status on it in 1946. There are many people of French ancestry in the territory. Guadeloupe is one of the two chief islands, the other being Martinique, which has the political status of the departments of France "just like the similar divisions of mainland France"<sup>2</sup>. The capital of Guadeloupe is the town of Basse-Terre.

The waves of independence spread by the pioneers of the Non-aligned Movement inspired the far off nations in Latin America as well as the people in the Caribbean Sea islands. As a result, political parties emerged in Guadeloupe and its dependencies. After some struggle for independence, the country was offered independence<sup>3</sup> in 1947. The left-wing parties - PCG rejected the offer and preferred internal autonomy. The pro-independence parties have "rarely won".

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1. The Europa Year Book, 1988: A World Survey (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1989), vol. I, p. 1083.
  2. Preston E. James, Latin America (London: Cassell, 3rd edn., 1959), p. 836.
  3. Everyman's United Nations: A Complete Handbook of the Activities of the United Nations During its First Twenty Years, 1945-1965 (New York: UN Office of the Public Information, 8th edn., March, 1968), p. 385.

more than 5% of the total vote<sup>4</sup>", but caused frequent outbreaks and tensions in the island.

The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964), condemning the manifestations of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Latin America, noted with regret that Guadeloupe was "still not self-governing"<sup>5</sup>. It called upon the Decolonization Commission of the United Nations to discuss the situation in Guadeloupe in the light of UN Resolution 1514 (XV)<sup>6</sup>.

The French Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac, stated that the administrative and social structure of the territory was almost identical to that of metropolitical France and with regard to political and legal rights there was complete identity and equality between the two<sup>7</sup>.

## (2) MARTINIQUE

As Martinique is rugged and mountainous, except for the Plain of Lamentin bordering the Bay of Fort de France, where the population is densely populated by a largely Negro peasantry, the economic condition of the people is poor. Due to this there is a considerable emigration of Negroes to France from the territory for seeking better employment opportunities. This process was accelerated in 1946, when the colony was made an integral part<sup>8</sup> of the French State.

The leaders of the NAM demanded independence to the Atlantic islands. Without much struggle, the country was granted independence<sup>9</sup> from France in 1947. But the independence was incomplete as the French controlled the administration. In 1960, the French Government gave the Island's General Council "the power to discuss political, as well as administrative"<sup>10</sup> questions due to the growth of nationalist feelings

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4. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1083.
  5. Two Decades of Non-Alignment: Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1983), p. 20.
  6. Ibid.
  7. Pacific Islands Monthly (Sydney), Vol. 46, No. 6, June, 1975, p. 3.
  8. Preston E. James, n. 2, p. 838; see also The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1087.
  9. Everyman's United Nations, n. 3, p. 385.
  10. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1087.



in the 1950s, as expressed by the political parties, PPM and PCM. Since the economic power is in the hands of the bekés (descendants of the white colonial settlers), there is a general resentment of the local population against them.<sup>11</sup>

In view of the deteriorating situation, the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) noted with regret that Martinique was "not self-governing"<sup>12</sup> and demanded implementation of the UN Resolution 1514(XV).

The French Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac, stated that the administrative and social structure of Martinique is almost identical to that of metropolitan France and with regard to its political and legal rights there was complete identity and equality.<sup>13</sup>

## (B) BRITISH TERRITORIES

### (1) BERMUDA ISLANDS (SOMERS ISLANDS)

The United States has built military bases in Bermuda Islands. It is not part of West Indies as it lies several hundred miles away from the West Indies proper. It comprises more than 300 islands,<sup>14</sup> only 20 of which are inhabited. Bermuda has been a British colony since 1684, and is still struggling for independence.

Bermuda was granted self-government under the constitution introduced in 1968. With the amendment to the 1968 constitution made in 1973, the British established a Governor's Council in the territory. The Governor held the powers of external affairs, defence, internal security and the police. In 1974, the head of the government became Premier and the Executive Council became the Cabinet.

The first general elections in the territory was held in May, 1968. The people protested against it, which caused rioting and racial tension,

11. Ibid.

12. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 20.

13. Pacific Islands Monthly (Sydney), n.7, p. 3.

14. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements (London: Taylor and Francis, 1985), p. 85; "about 150 islands"; see The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. II, p. 2849.

resulting in the shooting down of the Governor, the Commissioner of Police and three others<sup>15</sup>. The left-wing Progressive Labour Party (PLP) demanded independence. In 1978, the Royal Commission recommended "early independence for Bermuda"<sup>16</sup>, but majority of the population of the country at that time seemed against it.

The UN Committee on Decolonization declared changes in the colonial statute of Bermuda as unsatisfactory and recommended "granting of complete independence"<sup>17</sup> to it. A constitutional conference between the leaders of the national movement and representatives of Great Britain was held in 1979. In consequence, electoral system was changed to incorporate the wishes of the masses and it was hoped that necessary measures would be taken to foster national unity and identity and that that United Kingdom would not prevent its people from exercising their right to self-determination and independence.

However, Bermuda, being mainly agriculturist and a place for winter visit during holidays, has, though under the impact of the NAM objectives, not been able to intensify its freedom movement. Hence, it is still on the list of the UN Committee for Decolonization and the NAM for further consideration.

## (2) CAYMAN ISLANDS

The Cayman Islands lie about 290 km north-west of Jamaica and consist of three main islands: Grand Cayman, Little Cayman and Cayman Brac. The capital is George Town on the island of Grand Cayman.

The Cayman Islands came under the British rule in 1670 and were colonized mainly from Jamaica<sup>18</sup>. The Islands of Little Cayman and Cayman Brac were permanently settled in 1833. These islands were a dependency of Jamaica until 1959, and the Governor of Jamaica held "responsibility for the Cayman Islands" until Jamaica became independent in 1962.

There are no formal political parties in the territory. Though the people favour "continued independent status", but there are no plans

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15. The Europa Year Book, Ibid., p. 2849 .

16. Ibid.

17. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 14, p. 85.

18. The Europa Year Book, n.1, Vol. II, p. 2857.

for independence and the majority of the population wish to maintain the islands' links with Britain.<sup>19</sup>

Since the territory has no infrastructure, and other facilities, the United Nations urged upon Britain to diversify the agricultural and industrial resources of the islands to reduce dependence on imports, "to train the Caymanians for specific positions in all fields of activity"<sup>20</sup> and to prepare the territory for independence.

On July 3, 1986, the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and Cayman Islands signed a Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty, which would serve as a "model for similar treaties with other offshore banking centres",<sup>21</sup> such as the Bahamas, the British Virgin Islands and the Turks and Caicos Islands.

Cayman Islands is still on the list of the United Nations for further consideration.

### (3) TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS

Turks and Caicos Islands consist of more than 30 islands, lying about 145 km. north of Haiti. Only 8 of these islands are inhabited: Grand Turk, Salt Cay, South Caicos, Middle Caicos, North Caicos, Providenciales, Pine Cay and Parrot Cay.<sup>22</sup> These islands were a Jamaican<sup>23</sup> dependency from 1874 to 1959. When Jamaica achieved independence, the territory became a separate colony in 1962.

The people of Caicos Islands, a British colony, did not wish to gain independence for lack of infrastructure (deep-water harbour, airports and roads), doctors and engineers and adequate education facilities and also for want of facilities for progress of industries and exports. The United Nations recommended that the United Kingdom allocates funds for development in the fields of agriculture, industries, health, education and training in the territory. The Islands were granted 'internal autonomy' for preparing the people for independence.

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19. Ibid.

20. Keesing's Contemporary Archives: Record of World Events (London: Longman's Group Limited), Vol. XXXIV, March, 1988, p. 35768.

21. Wall Street Journal (New York), July 3, 1986; see also Caribbean Insight (London), July, 1986.

22. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. II, p. 2892.

23. Everyman's United Nations, n. 3, pp. 386-87.

However, the Georgetown NAM Conference (1972) asserted the inalienable right to national independence of the Caribbean territories.<sup>24</sup> Its Colombo Summit Conference (1976) stressed the need of strengthening a Latin American machinery for regional and sub-regional cooperation, welcomed the efforts of the Latin American Economic System (SELA) for "achieving these ends" and condemned "every kind of manoeuvre or pressure that seeks to block their development".<sup>25</sup> Inspired by these NAM resolutions, in 1976 the people of the territory organised themselves in the pro-independence People's Democratic Movement (PDM), which won elections and demanded independence.<sup>26</sup>

The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting (1978) reiterated the earlier resolutions and expressed concern over the establishment of foreign military bases<sup>27</sup> in Latin America. The Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979) noted that eleven Latin American and Caribbean<sup>28</sup> countries had joined the Non-aligned Movement and supported the peoples of these countries who were "oppressed by the alien occupation"<sup>29</sup>, which was a dangerous situation and an obstacle to independence. The Conference observed that the NAM efforts for establishing peace and independence throughout the whole world had spread a wave of independence and the Latin American countries were also influenced by it. The New Delhi Conference of NAM (1986) and its Harare Summit Conference (1986) observed that the Caribbean region, which included the Caicos Islands had been "directly affected by the aggression of colonial powers and imperialism".<sup>30</sup>

In July, 1986, the Government was dissolved in Turks and Caicos Islands and the territory was placed under the direct rule of the British Crown.<sup>31</sup> In September, 1986, the Government of the Islands signed an agreement with the United States "giving US investigators into drug-trafficking access to banking information in the islands".<sup>32</sup>

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24. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 72.

25. Ibid., p. 201.

26. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. II, p. 2892.

27. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 281.

28. Ibid., p. 402.

29. Ibid., p. 403.

30. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 30, p. 249.

31. Keesing's, n. 26, August, 1988, p. 36098.

32. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. II, p. 2892.

The British Government agreed to grant freedom to the Islands, if the PDM won the 1980 elections. The PDM lost the 1980 and 1984 elections to PNP. The PDM continued to demand freedom. However, in March, 1987, the United Kingdom agreed to a constitutional Commission's recommendations on the future of the territory. In 1987, the PDM won 11 seats out of 13, while the remaining two were won by PNP. In March, 1988, a new constitution was adopted and an interim Government was formed to replace the Governor's Executive Council.<sup>33</sup>

However, the territory is still on the list of the United Nations for further consideration.

#### 4. WEST INDIES ANTILLES

##### (i) BAHAMAS

The Bahamas comprise some 29 inhabited islands and about 3,000 uninhabited islets covering an area of 4,404 sq. miles.<sup>34</sup> The country had a Negro population of about 85,000 in 1955. More than half of its population live on New Providence Island. The people claim that they are not West Indians and Bahamas are not part of the Antilles.

The island San Salvador was first touched by Columbus. In 1718, the British occupied the whole group because of their most strategic situation. There have been many demonstrations and uprisings in the country demanding independence from the British yoke. It attained internal self-government in 1964. A new constitution was adopted in May, 1969, which gave it increased responsibility for "internal security, external affairs and defence".<sup>35</sup> The country was granted independence on July 10, 1973, within the British Commonwealth,<sup>36</sup> became a member of the United Nations on September 18, 1973, and joined the NAM in March, 1983, at its New Delhi Summit Conference.<sup>37</sup>

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33. Ibid.

34. "Bahamas consists of about 700 islands and more than 2,000 cays and rocks, extending from off the Florida coast of the USA to just north of Cuba and Haiti"; see The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 418.

35. Ibid.

36. The Yearbook of the United Nations (New York: UN, Department of Public Information), 1973, Vol. 27, p. 705. (Henceforth YUN).

37. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement: Documents of the Gatherings of the Nonaligned Countries, 1983-1986, Vol. II (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1986), p. 17.

Bahama's relations with the United States have been strained due to the tough attitude of the former towards "the secrecy laws surrounding US offshore banks operating in the Bahamas, and towards drug smuggling in the islands"<sup>38</sup>. Its relations with Cuba have been strained due to sinking of a Bahamian patrol boat by Cuba and with Haiti due to the influx of a large number of Haitian immigrants into Bahamas<sup>39</sup>.

(ii) BARBADOS

Barbado lies about 320 km north-east of Trinidad. The British established their colony there in 1627. Now, there are about 95 per cent Negroes and 5 per cent whites in Barbados. The Negroes were 180,000 and the whites 15,000 in 1921-22. Since then Negro population has been growing steadily. Barbados is one of world's most crowded countries.

Inspired by the Non-aligned Movement, the people of this island intensified their struggle for independence and achieved internal self-government<sup>40</sup> in October, 1961. The country became independent<sup>41</sup> on November 30, 1966, under the Premiership of Errol Barrow, leader of the Democratic Labour Party (DLP). It was admitted to the United Nations<sup>42</sup> on December 9, 1966, and joined the NAM<sup>43</sup> in March, 1983.

The relations of Barbados with Trinidad and Tobago were strained due to the intervention of the former in Grenada, and Trinidad's imposition of import restrictions, which affected the Barbadian trade. However, in August, 1986, both the countries signed an agreement and "a number of Barbadian goods were freed from the restrictions"<sup>44</sup>.

The executive power in the island is vested in the British monarch<sup>45</sup>, who is represented by a Governor-General, who acts on the advice of the Cabinet.

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38. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 418.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., p. 452.

41. Ibid.

42. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 14, p. 76.

43. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 37, p. 17.

44. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 452.

45. Ibid.

(iii) JAMAICA

Jamaica is the third largest island in the Caribbean Sea, lying 145 km. to the south of Cuba and 160 km. to the south-west of Haiti. Its official language is English and 80% of the population is of African origin. Its capital is Kingston. Columbus discovered it in May, 1494.

Jamaica became a British colony<sup>46</sup> in 1655. There was a major rebellion in 1795, against British rule. The visit of Simon Bolivar, the Great Liberator, in 1816, gave a fillip to the independence movement. In 1872, Britain officially confirmed the "colonial status of the island"<sup>47</sup>. Eminent leaders who led the emancipation movement were George William Gordon, Marcus Garvey, Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley. Gordon led the independence movement of the Blacks. Garvey fought for the dignity of man in the United States and other countries. Bustamante was a leader of the Jamaican Labour Party together with Manley. Economic and social conditions worsened. Riots and unrest continued. The independence movement swept the country. As a result, in 1953, ministerial system was established on the island and, in 1959, Britain granted Jamaica the status of "internal autonomy"<sup>48</sup>, retaining the departments of defence and foreign affairs.

During the 1950s, some newly independent countries of Asia and Africa supported the countries struggling for independence and started the Non-aligned Movement, which inspired the Jamaicans and they began to launch struggle to free themselves from the foreign yoke.

In 1958, Jamaica joined the West Indies Federation which broke up in 1961. Then, in a referendum, its people voted in favour of national independence. Therefore, the British granted full independence<sup>49</sup> on August 6, 1962, under the framework of the British Commonwealth. It joined the United Nations and other international organizations. Jamaica attended

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46. Ibid., p. 1504; see also Ivo Dvorak, n. 25, p. 346; "In 1670, by the Treaty of Madrid, Spain ceded the island to Britain".

47. Ivo Dvorak, The Non-Aligned Countries (London: Harney and Jones Limited, 1982), p. 347.

48. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1504; see also Ivo Dvorak, n.47, p. 347; "in 1957" Great Britain granted internal autonomy.

49. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1504.

the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) as an Observer and the New York NAM Meeting (1969) as a full member.<sup>51</sup>

Despite unrest and unemployment in the country, the People's National Party (PNP), led by former Premier Norman Manley, returned to power in December, 1976. But widespread political unrest and violent demonstrations led to the formation of the PNP government in January, 1979.

The Havana NAM Ministerial Meeting (1975) supported and encouraged the measures adopted by Jamaica in its efforts to consolidate its sovereignty and recover its national resources.<sup>52</sup> The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) reiterated the Havana resolution on the issue. The Algiers Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM (1976) took note of the statement of Jamaican Prime Minister regarding attempts to destabilize his government by the United States, using techniques of "deliberate and well orchestrated attacks in public information media, the selective sale of arms and so-called defence services, the promotion of inter-regional conflicts, the fomenting of internal unrest and manipulation of puppets".<sup>53</sup> Its Colombo Summit Conference (1976) reiterated the Algiers observations and condemned the continued aggression, pressure, coercion and intimidation of US imperialism.<sup>54</sup> The Conference elected Jamaica as a member of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM.<sup>55</sup>

In October, 1981, diplomatic relations of Jamaica with Cuba were severed and Jamaica drew nearer to the United States. Further, the PNP, to gain US support, dissociated itself from the Communist Workers Party. In October, 1983, Jamaica contributed troops after the US invasion of Granada to maintain peace there and "to assist in training the new Granadian police force".<sup>56</sup>

#### (iv) TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago comprises five more islands - Little Tobago, Monos, Chacachacare, Gasparee and Huevos. The Republic

50. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 17.

51. Ibid., p. 31.

52. Ibid., p. 135.

53. Ibid., p. 182.

54. Ibid., p. 200.

55. Ibid., p. 222.

56. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1504.



covers an area of 5,128 sq. km. (Trinidad 4,828 sq. km. and Tobago 300 sq. km.) with a population of 1,175,000 (1978). Columbus visited the islands in 1498. They were occupied by the Spaniards and the French during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries respectively. In 1814, it became a British colony. In 1924, the island was granted internal autonomy. The capital is Port of Spain on the island of Trinidad.<sup>57</sup>

After the abolition of slavery in 1934, the British brought Indians as cheap labours to the territory. It has three main religious communities - Christians (71%), Hindus (23%) and Muslims (6%). Though the country is small and mountainous, the inhabitants are prosperous and live with amity despite ethnic differences. When the British ceded the air and naval base of Chaguaramas to the United States in 1940s, all the communities protested against it jointly. In 1950, a new constitution gave independence to the country. Eric Williams founded the National People's Movement in 1956, which, massively supported by the people, dominated the political scene for 20 years. In 1958, under the inspiration of the pioneers of the Non-aligned Movement, the West Indians decided to fight for independence unitedly. Hence, Trinidad and Tobago became part of the West Indies Federation, which demanded removal of US military facilities from Trinidad. The United States promised to return 80% of the territory by 1977, which promise has so far not been fulfilled. The Federation was dissolved in 1962, and the territory became independent<sup>58</sup> on August 31, 1962. It became member of the United Nations and joined the Non-aligned Movement in September, 1970. On October 16, 1987, it established relations with East Germany.<sup>59</sup>

##### 5. THE NETHERLAND ANTILLES

It consists of two groups of islands in the Caribbean Sea, about 800 km. apart, known as "Leeward Islands" and "Windward Islands".<sup>60</sup> The former group consists of Bonaire and Curacao (together with Aruba); and the latter includes "small volcanic islands of St. Eustatius, Saba and St. Maarten. The northern half of the Windward Islands is a dependency

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57. Ibid., n. 1, Vol. II, p. 2616.

58. Ivo Dvorak, n. 47, p. 698.

59. Keesing's, n. 20, February, 1988, p. 35700.

60. The Europa Year Book, n.1, Vol. I, p. 2005.

of the French overseas department of Guadeloupe). The capital, Willemstad, is situated on the island of Curacao.

In 1630, the Dutch seized the Leeward Islands from Spain. The Windward Islands were first discovered by Columbus in 1493, and became a Dutch territory in 1816. Both the groups of islands were known as "Curacao Islands" until 1948. They recovered their economic position after the start of petroleum refineries on these islands in 1918 and 1929. During the Second World War Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands promised to declare their independence and the territory was granted "full autonomy in domestic affairs"<sup>61</sup> in 1954.

The NAM inspired the islanders to form a political party, MEP, in 1971, to fight against the "administrative dominance of Curacao" and to seek independence. As a result, Aruba will be declared an independent state<sup>62</sup> in 1996.

Venezuela lays claim to the Leeward Islands, but since 1983, there has been political and social stability due to establishment of petroleum refining industries on the islands.

(a) LEEWARD ISLANDS

(i) ANGUILLA

Anguilla lies 113 km. to the north-west of Saint Christopher (St. Kitts) in the British West Indies. The territory includes the island of Sombrero and several uninhabited islands.<sup>63</sup> It was once part of Associated States of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. Its capital is The Valley.

In 1969, Anguilla, as per its new constitution, approved by a referendum, severed connexions with St. Kitts and with the United Kingdom,<sup>64</sup> the administering power, and declared itself an independent republic. But the United Kingdom deployed warships, paratroopers and police to curb the rebellion. The United States and the United Kingdom both conceded that St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla had achieved a

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61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., p. 2846.

64. YUN, n. 36, 1969, Vol. 23, p. 666.

full measure of self-government<sup>65</sup> in 1967. However, since the United Kingdom did not declare the territory independent, the people, inspired by the Non-aligned Movement, began to fight for complete independence, and continued to struggle for freedom<sup>66</sup>. As a result, a series of talks between the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister of Anguilla, held in February and May, 1975, and the territory was given greater self-government with increased autonomy. Up to this time, Anguilla was being administered by a British Commissioner assisted by a Council. In December, 1975, the Council adopted a new constitution, which came into effect on February 10, 1976. Since then the territory is a "self-governing British colony under the Anguilla order"<sup>67</sup>.

The Belgrade NAM Ministerial Conference (1978), referring to the 'Non-Self-Governing Territories', demanded that the colonial powers should "promptly create normal conditions for the realization of the right of self-determination of these peoples"<sup>68</sup>.

Anguilla was separated from St. Kitts by the Anguilla Act of December, 1980. The future of the territory is still under consideration by the United Nations.

#### (ii) ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

In 1967, the United Kingdom, the Administering Power, declared that "Antigua, Dominica, Gradana, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and St. Lucia would assume the status as States with the United Kingdom<sup>69</sup>, during the week beginning on February 27, 1967, and would be known as "the West Indies Associated States"<sup>70</sup> and that while these six territories would enjoy a full measure of self-government, the United Kingdom would control their external affairs and defence. It was also proclaimed that their association with the United Kingdom would be completely voluntary and

65. Ibid.

66. See for further details Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.5, pp.309-10; 338; 379-80; 418-21; 567-69.

67. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements, n. 14, p. 40.

68. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 40.

69. YUN, n. 36, 1967, Vol. 21, p. 681.

70. Ibid.; see also The Europa Year Book, n.1, Vol. I, p. 338.

they would be entirely free to declare themselves free in accordance with the constitutional process i.e. having the approval of two-third majority in a referendum.<sup>71</sup>

The first elections in the territory were held in February, 1971. The Progressive Labour Movement (PLM) ousted the Antigua Labour Party (ALP), which had held power since 1946. In 1975, the Associated States decided to launch struggles for their independence separately.<sup>72</sup> During the 1976 elections, the PLM campaigned for early independence while the ALP opposed this move. The 1980 elections in Antigua were won by ALP. The people of Barbuda did not like to be independent and the Barbuda People's Movement (BPM) campaigned for secession from Antigua.<sup>73</sup>

The NAM Conferences continually encouraged the people of Antigua and Barbuda to struggle for achieving independence. The independence of Central American, Latin American and Caribbean countries encouraged independence movements in the whole region. The Caribbean nations were inspired by the Havana Conference of NAM (1979) and resolved to eliminate imperialism and colonialism and neo-colonialism from their territories.

Antigua and Barbuda became independent as separate states on November 11, 1981. They decided to remain in the British Commonwealth and became members of the United Nations on November 11, 1981. The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) expressed its satisfaction at the independence of Antigua and Barbuda and welcomed their participation in the Movement of Non-aligned countries.<sup>75</sup> The country became the ninety-third contracting party to the GATT.<sup>76</sup>

Antigua and Barbuda is a constitutional monarchy and its executive power is vested in the British sovereign as Head of State which is exercised by the Governor-General. The ALP Government "follows a policy of non-alignment" although it has "strong links with the USA" and assisted

71. YUN, n. 36, 1967, Vol. 21, pp. 681-82.

72. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 338.

73. Ibid.

74. Keesing's, n. 20, Vol. XXVII, December, 1981, p. 31248; see also The Europa Year Book, n.1, Vol. I, p. 338.

75. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 37, p. 36.

76. Keesing's, n. 20, Vol. XXXIV, March, 1988, p. 35766.

the US military intervention in Grenada in October, 1983, as a member of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (DECS). Since 1982, Antigua has had close relations with Canada, China, Republic of Korea, Brazil and Venezuela, "in return of economic assistance"<sup>77</sup>. It has diplomatic relations with the Latin American countries.

(iii) ARUBA

The Island of Aruba lies in the southern Caribbean Sea, 25 km. north of Venezuela and 68 km. west of the Island of Curacao (Netherlands Antilles consisting of five islands). Its capital is Oranjestad.

The Dutch colonized it in 1636. In 1954, it became a member of the autonomous federation of the Netherlands Antilles. The establishment of a petroleum refinery at St. Nicolaas, in 1929, raised the standard of living of the islanders, but they opposed the administrative dominance of Curacao which made excessive demand of wealth and resources from the Arubans. Therefore, the only political party in the island, the MEP, founded in 1971, demanded Aruban independence and separation from the five other islands. In March, 1977, in a referendum, 82% of the voters preferred independence and separation from the Antillean federation.<sup>78</sup>

The NAM conferences greatly inspired its people as it supported freedom movements in the Caribbean Sea. Negotiations were held between the MEP and the Government of the Netherlands Antilles. However, in 1981, when the MEP withdrew itself from the Government of Netherlands Antilles, a provisional agreement was made between the Dutch and the Government of Netherlands Antilles on the future of Aruba. At a tripartite discussion of the two Governments and the representatives of Aruba in March, 1983, it was decided that "Aruba should receive separate status, within the kingdom of the Netherlands from January, 1986" achieving full independence<sup>79</sup> in 1996.

(iv) BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS

Of the group British Virgin Islands the largest are Tortola, Virgin, Gorda and Anegada. Of the 40 mountainous islands,<sup>80</sup> only 15 are

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77. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 338.

78. Ibid., p. 2001.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 2854.

inhabited. The eastern part of the Virgin group is a British colony. The area of the colony is 67 sq. miles with a population of 7,760 (1956), consisting mostly Negroes. The British group of Virgin Islands is so closely tied to the American Virgin Islands that the people of the former go to St. Thomas in search for employment and on the British Virgin dollar, rather than Pound Sterling, is in currency.

In 1872, these islands became part of British colony administered under a federal system. The federation was dissolved in July, 1956. They did not join the federation of the West Indies either. The 1967 constitution established an elective legislative council in the territory. An amendment to the constitution in 1977 gave it "more extensive self-government"<sup>81</sup> According to it, the Governor is appointed by the British monarch, and is responsible for external affairs, defence and internal security.<sup>82</sup>

There was a movement in the Island to remain outside the Federation of the "Little Seven". However, the territory is not yet independent.

(v) MONTSERRAT

Montserrat lies in the West Indies about 55 km. north of Besse Terre, Guadeloupe, and about 43 km. south-west of Antigua. The British first settled on it in 1632. It remained part of the federal colony of the Leeward Islands from 1871 to 1956, when the federation was dissolved and it became a separate colony. Since 1960, it has had its own constitution and an Administrator.<sup>83</sup>

The size, geographical location, population and limited natural resources of Montserrat delayed the implementation of the process of self-determination in the territory. In 1980, the United Kingdom, the administering power, expressed willingness to grant independence, respecting the wishes of the people in determining their future constitutional status.<sup>84</sup> In view of growing unrest of the inhabitants after the Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979), the United Kingdom agreed to diversify

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81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., p. 2864.

84. YUN, n. 36, 1980, Vol. 34, p. 1090.

its infrastructures - agriculture, livestock, tourism and industry - and also provided technical assistance to the territory. These measures weakened the freedom movement. Due to this, the country has not yet been decolonized.

Struggles for independence were launched in the territory in 1983 and 1984, but the people affirmed that they did not like independence "in the immediate future"<sup>85</sup>. However, the people protested against the British domination and there was a spate of strikes when, in August, 1986, a priest was threatened with deportation "for alleged interference in political affairs"<sup>86</sup>. Under the provisions of 1977 constitution, a Governor is appointed by the British monarch, who is responsible for the defence of the country. Its future as an independent country has not yet been decided and it is still on the list of the United Nations for consideration.

(vi) ST. KITTS AND NEVIS (ST. CHRISTOPHER AND NEVIS)

The Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis is situated at the northern end of the Leeward Islands. The capital is Basseterre, on St. Christopher.

St. Christopher was the first British colony established in 1623 in the West Indies. In 1958, Saint Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla formed the West Indies Federation and remained united until 1962, when under the 1960 constitution the three formed their own governments under care of a single British Administration. In 1967, led by a pro-Independence 'Labour Party', they attained 'Associated Statehood', but three months later Anguilla reverted to the position of a British dependency and left the Federation in December, 1980, while St. Kitts-Nevis remained a British colony.<sup>87</sup>

The NAM conferences demanded independence of Caribbean islands and supported the people for decolonization. Demonstration held in the territory pressurising the United Kingdom to grant freedom. Consequently, a constitutional conference<sup>88</sup> held in London from December 7-16, 1982, and St. Kitts-Nevis became independent on September 19, 1983. It became also a member of the United Nations on September 23, 1983. The country, after independence, is known as Saint Christopher and Nevis.

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85. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. II, p. 2884.

86. Ibid.

87. Keesing's, n. 20, Vol. XXIX, December, 1983, p. 32559.

88. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 2326.

(b) WINDWARD ISLANDS(i) DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND HAITI

Dominica lies in the West Indies between Guadaloupe to the north and Martinique, to the south. Its capital is Roseau<sup>89</sup>. The eastern part of the Island of Hispaniola, between Cuba and Puerto Rico, is the Dominican Republic inhabited mostly by the Mulatto people. During the seventeenth century, it was a stronghold of English and French pirates. Later, the French drove the English settlers in 1697. Since the Spaniards could not drive out the French, they recognised Hispaniola as a French colony. The French named it Saint Dominique, which became "one of the world's richest colonies"<sup>90</sup>. During the eighteenth century, the French occupied Artibonite and the Cul de Sac and, in 1749, they founded the town, Port-au-Prince, which became the capital city in place of Cap Francais.

The Mulattos had the advantage of education in Paris and not more than 300 of their families ruled the country. The majority of the Negroes, the former slaves, accepted them as their new masters. The Mulattos did not give the status of equality either to the pure Negroes or the pure Whites, which made the social situation in Saint Dominique explosive. Therefore, the Negroes demanded freedom and equality and gradually disorder turned into a revolt. The Negroes destroyed the estates and the white landowners ran away to save their lives. In 1804, the Negroes of Hispaniola proclaimed their independence<sup>91</sup> and adopted the Indian name of the island, Haiti. Thus, two states came into existence; Haiti in the west, and the Dominican Republic in the east.

Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic is economically prostrate though it is potentially productive. It was occupied<sup>92</sup> by the US Marines from 1916 to 1924. When the Marines left in 1924, power came into the hands of a dictator, General Trujillo, who administered the territory with the help of armed forces and the secret police. Since 1930, no political

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89. Ibid., p. 910.

90. Preston E. James, n. 2, p. 782.

91. Ibid., p. 784.

92. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 915.



party has been allowed to be formed and all the opponents of the General have been exiled, jailed or killed. There are "no elections, no discussion of public issues, no protection of the individual from arrest without warrant, no such thing as equality before the law"<sup>93</sup>. The General has given the people an idea of a white country, to which many Dominicans subscribe. To the Dominicans in exile, "the ideals of democracy are completely denied" and the country "is a dark spot on the American hemisphere"<sup>94</sup>. However, Dominica became independent in 1978 and was admitted to the UN membership on December 18, 1978.

The country took interest in the NAM and its Senator, Rosie Douglas, attended the NAM Conference held in Havana in 1979. The Conference observed that the country "had just attained political independence ... after the ravages of colonialism"<sup>95</sup>. Participants of the Conference expressed deep sympathy with the people of Dominica on the devastation caused by a hurricane on August 29, 1979, and appealed all the nations to assist the people of Dominica. On the request of the Dominican Government, the Conference authorised the President to establish an ad hoc group to administer the Fund<sup>96</sup>. In November, 1987, the border with Haiti was again closed and diplomatic relations with Cuba was also not established.<sup>97</sup>

## Haiti

Haiti is the twentieth of the independent states of Latin America<sup>98</sup>. Of the people of Haiti, 95 per cent are pure-blooded Negroes and 5 per cent are Mulatto, who inherited white blood from French planters. Since most of its inhabitants were shipped here from Africa, their way of living is African and Voodooism is their basic religion. The rural Haitians, who use machete and hoe, are not a person of great ambition. They believe in the proverb: "If work were a good thing the rich would have grabbed it all long ago"<sup>99</sup>. The Haitians like pleasure and since work

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93. Preston E. James, n. 2, p. 781.

94. Ibid.

95. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 471.

96. Ibid.

97. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 916.

98. Preston E. James, n. 2, p. 781.

99. Ibid., p. 785.

does not bring them pleasure, they avoid work as much as possible. Thus, their way of life is simple and they grow only those things which satisfy the fewest wants and since the wet soil produces much they do not work hard. Hence, there is very great poverty in the country and its gross national income is very low. However, the Mulatto families, who are active in politics, rule the country. The Mulattos raided the public treasury and political corruption ruined the country.

Haiti was occupied by the United States Marines from 1915 to 1935. As it was an infringement of the right of an independent country, the occupation was condemned throughout the whole world. After the withdrawal of the US Marines in 1934, tranquility was restored in the country. However, the political situation is chaotic as the means of communication are beating of drums and there is no agency for discussing issues of public policy. The state structure is based on French and African traditions. They support the idea of a Negro state.<sup>100</sup>

Violence and unrest has become a common feature of Haiti's political development since the overthrow of the dictatorship of President-for-Life, Duvalier, in February, 1986, by Gen. Henri Namphy, the Army Chief of Staff. The people demanded "democratic elections of a civil government",<sup>101</sup> to replace the military government, since Namphy failed "to reduce the extreme poverty and deprivation".<sup>102</sup> As many as 85% of the population had remained illiterate, while 50% of the 3 lac strong workforce was unemployed and infant mortality rate was 125 per thousand.

On November 17-18, 1986, a general strike paralysed the capital, Port-au-Prince, resulting in several instances of violence. On February 2, 1987, "800 delegates from over 300 opposition organizations"<sup>103</sup> inaugurated the National Congress of Democratic Movements (NCDM) to create a united front for the realization of "full democratic rights and liberal freedoms".<sup>104</sup> They accused Gen. Namphy of "corruption, caprice and incompetence".<sup>105</sup> On February 5, 1987, the National Council of the Government (CNG) of

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100. Ibid., p. 788.

101. Keesing's, n. 20, No. 2, February, 1988, p. 35695.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid., p. 35696.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

Gen. Namphy threatened to arrest those involved in incitement to disorder or in calls to rebellion<sup>106</sup>. On January 2, 1988, the French Government suspended all aid to Haiti until restoration of the democratic process. Meanwhile, an eight-country<sup>107</sup> organization - the Concerned Caribbean Leaders (CCL) was formed on December 2, 1987, "to serve as a bridge" between NCDM and CNG, to restore full democracy, and to oppose foreign military intervention<sup>108</sup>.

On January 24, 1988, Leslie Manigat, leader of the National Democratic Progress Party (NDPC) was declared President. The legislature, composed largely of "independents," many of them thought to be former office holders under the Duvalierist regime<sup>109</sup>. Manigat is believed to be the candidate of CNG and he described himself as a "democratic centrist"<sup>110</sup>.

(ii) GRENADA

Grenada is a mountainous and heavily forested island in the south of the Windward Islands. It includes other smaller islands, such as, Grenadines - Carriacou and Petit Martinique<sup>111</sup>, which lie 90 miles north of Trinidad and 68 miles southeast of St. Vincent. The population is 120,000, of which 90% are of African origin. The majority speaks English. Its capital is St. Georges.

Grenada became a British colony in 1783 by the Treaty of Versailles. Inspired by the French Revolution of 1789, the people struggled for independence. During the 1795-96 revolt, the people adopted hit-and-run attacks. The British repression was most brutal and innocent people were hanged and the Caribs "threw themselves into the sea rather than submit to the oppressors"<sup>113</sup>.

Volunteers from Grenada fought in both the World Wars, after which due to great economic depression, Grenada Workers Union was formed

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.;

108. Ibid., p. 35698.

109. Ibid., p. 35699.

110. Ibid.

111. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1230.

112. Ivo Dvorak, n. 47, p. 256.

113. Ibid., p. 257.

in 1946. The Grenada Trade Union Council demanded higher wages in 1950. In 1952, Eric Gairy founded the Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) and in 1953, the Grenada National Party (GNP) was founded by him.

To placate the people of the island, the British Government ended the colonial status of Grenada in 1958 and incorporated it into the West Indies Federation together with other Caribbean islands. The Federation ended in 1962, and under a new constitution, Grenada became an Associated State of Great Britain in March, 1967, with a "local government"<sup>114</sup> and "internal autonomy"<sup>115</sup>, while the British controlled its defence and foreign relations. By this time, the Belgrade Summit Conference of NAM (1961) and its Cairo Summit Conference (1964) gave a new impetus to the people of the island to struggle for independence.

Early in the 1970s, the typical Gairy's administration was opposed by foreign educated young men like Maurice Bishop and Unison Whiteman. Bishop organised the Movement of Assemblies of the People (MAP) and Whiteman founded the JEWEL movement, and both endeavoured for the welfare, education and liberation of the people and opposed the colonial regime, its repressive practices and corruption and criticised the Gairy regime. In 1973, a Committee of 22 formed the Grenada National Party (GNP). The New JEWEL Movement (NJM) organised strikes and demonstrations during which Bishop's father was killed by the police. However, after negotiations held in London, the British Government granted independence<sup>116</sup> to Grenada on February 2, 1974. Grenada became a member of the United Nations on September 17, 1974, and participated in the Colombo Summit Conference of NAM (1976) and its Belgrade Conference (1978) as an Observer,<sup>117</sup> and its Havana Summit Conference (1979) as a member.<sup>118</sup>

The Colombo Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1979), recommending the application of Grenada, along with Bolivia, Iran, Pakistan and Surinam, for the full membership of the organisation, noted that "the desire of these countries to join the NAM was indicative of the growing relevance

114. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1230.

115. Ivo Dvorak, n. 47, p. 257.

116. Ibid.

117. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.5, pp. 189 and 295.

118. Ibid., p. 401.

of the Movement to contemporary international relations and the trend reflecting the distinctive independent and non-bloc role of the Non-aligned countries in their endeavour to create a new and democratic system of political and economic relations.<sup>119</sup>

Gairy's GULP won the 1976 elections using repression and fraudulent means. In spite of this, six of the fifteen seats were won by candidates of the People's Alliance (formed by NJM, GNP and United People's Party). The Alliance opposed Gairy's regime due to its "anti-popular policy" and ties with "such regimes as Pinochet's junta in Chile<sup>120</sup>". In 1979, Gairy ordered the killing of NJM leaders. On March 13, 1979, the revolutionary forces captured the radio station. A day before, Gairy had fled to the United States. After the bloodless coup, a People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) was formed, with Bishop as Prime Minister. The new government suspended the constitution and launched a programme for the welfare of the people. After this, Grenada became a target of hostile activities by the imperialists - US and its allies, including a bomb attack on Prime Minister Bishop, because the country had adopted "an active, independent, non-aligned, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-fascist and anti-racist foreign policy"<sup>121</sup>. Grenada assisted the liberation movement in Latin America and the Caribbean and established ties with Cuba and Nicaragua and other socialist countries.<sup>122</sup>

In 1982, relations of Grenada with the United States, the United Kingdom and members of CARICOM became strained. On October 19, 1983, Prime Minister Bishop, his three ministers and three trade union spokesmen were executed and a 16-man Revolutionary Military Council (RMC), led by General Austin, was set up. International outrage and fears of "a US military intervention" forced the RMC to relax curfew, reopen the airport and "to promise "to return to civilian rule as soon as possible"<sup>123</sup>. In October, 1983, the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), with the help of the United Kingdom, invaded and defeated the RMC forces and imprisoned its leaders. A democratic government was

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119. Ibid., p. 370.

120. Ivo Dvorak, n. 47, p. 258.

121. Ibid., p. 259.

122. Ibid.

123. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1230.

instituted and all the parties, which had gone underground during the PRG rule, re-emerged.

Ministers at the Managua Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1983) condemned "the use of pressures and economic sanctions against Nicaragua, Cuba, Grenada, Argentina and more recently, Surinam<sup>124</sup>". They called for "an end to the embargo, the economic blockade and other coercive measures applied against them", and affirmed the "right of all States to the full exercise of their national sovereignty and to adopt the economic and social systems which they consider most appropriate for promoting their development<sup>125</sup>". The Ministers further denounced "measures of economic boycott, the hostile propaganda, the holding of military naval manoeuvres near its territory and the violation of its airspace for the purpose of destabilizing the government<sup>126</sup>" of Grenada. The Ministers asserted constant support for the Grenadian Government and people.

The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983), reiterating the observations of the Managua meeting, condemned the "covert and overt actions and the political and economic pressures being exerted by imperialist forces against Grenada<sup>127</sup>". Its New York meeting (1983) reaffirmed "solidarity with the Government of Grenada in its efforts to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity in the face of political and economic pressures and efforts as destabilization directed against it<sup>128</sup>". The New Delhi Ministerial Meeting of NAM (1986) noted that in spite of the UN General Assembly resolution 38/7, "foreign military personnel are still in Grenada" and they urged that "they be withdrawn forthwith in accordance with that resolution<sup>129</sup>".

However, Grenada is under direct control and influence of the United States. It has a dominion status within the Commonwealth and the British monarch is the Head of State, represented locally by a Governor-General<sup>130</sup>.

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124. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 37, p. 4.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid., pp. 6 and 11.

127. Ibid., p. 36.

128. Ibid., p. 104.

129. Ibid., pp. 251-52.

130. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1231.

(111) ST. VINCENT AND GRENADINES

The islands are situated in the Windward group in the West Indies. The main island is Saint Vincent and the group of smaller islands in the northern part is known as Saint Vincent Grenadines. The other principal islands in the part of this group are Bequia, Canouan, Mustique, Mayreau, Isle d'Quatre and Union Island. The capital is Kingstown on the island of Saint Vincent. The territory is collectively known as Saint Vincent<sup>131</sup>.

Saint Vincent became a British colony in the eighteenth century. It was administered by the Governor of the Windward Islands under a federal system until December, 1959. It participated in the West Indies Federation in January, 1958, and remained its member until its dissolution in May, 1962.

Like other Windward Islands, Saint Vincent was granted a new constitution in January, 1960. Since the British colonies in the Leeward and Windward Islands failed to form a smaller East Caribbean Federation, they became Associated States in 1967. Saint Vincent could not attain the status of Associated States due to internal differences<sup>132</sup>.

In 1969, the United Kingdom agreed to grant the territory "full self-government and association with the United Kingdom"<sup>133</sup> on 27 October 1969, while the British were responsible of some external affairs and defence. The British Government also stated that the territory would have right to become independent at any time without approval of the United Kingdom. The Government further declared that new constitutional arrangements were made in consultation with the elected representatives of all the parties. However, in spite of opposition of the People's Political Party (PPP), Saint Vincent joined the Associated States on October 27, 1969, as an independent state, while the British Government retained the responsibility of defence and foreign affairs. Though the territory attained full measure of self-government, the British delayed their declaration to this effect.

Forced by the growing discontent among the masses, due to the

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131. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 2280.

132. Ibid.

133. YUN, n. 36, 1969, Vol. 23, p. 667.

delaying tactics of the British and influence of the NAM resolutions, the Government held a constitutional conference in 1978. As a result the British Government declared independence of the territory on October 27, 1979, and the country became fully independent as Saint Vincent and the Grenadines<sup>134</sup>. Cato became the country's first Prime Minister<sup>135</sup>.

(iv) ST. LUCIA (SANTA LUCIA)

In 1638, the Carib population of the island killed the Englishmen who arrived there, and resisted the French penetration from 1642 to 1660, when the French occupied it. In 1814, the French ceded it to Britain under the Treaty of Paris<sup>136</sup>. The capital is Castries.

After the First World War, the British introduced representative government in the island. It remained a member of the Windward Islands under a federal system until December, 1959. It joined the West Indies Federation in January, 1958, and remained its member until its dissolution in May, 1962. In March, 1967, Saint Lucia became a member of the West Indies Associated States "gaining full autonomy in internal affairs"<sup>137</sup>, while Britain held the responsibility for defence and foreign relations. In 1975, the Associated States decided that they would seek independence<sup>138</sup>. In 1978, the United Kingdom, the Administering Power, approved the St. Lucia Termination of Association Order, according to which the territory became independent<sup>139</sup> on February 23, 1979, remaining within the British Commonwealth of Nations. It also became a member of the United Nations on September 18, 1979.

However, the territory is a constitutional monarchy and executive power is vested in the British monarch, who is Head of the State.

134. Ibid., 1969, Vol. 23, p. 1051.

135. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. II, p. 2280.

136. Ibid., p. 2274.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid.

139. See for further details YUN, n. 36, 1979, Vol. 33, p. 1051; see also Ibid., 1980, Vol. 34, pp. 1089-91.



(C) US TERRITORIES(1) PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico comprises the main island of Puerto Rico, together with Vieques, Culebra and many smaller islands, lying about 80 km. east of Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic) in the Caribbean Sea. The capital is San Juan. Puerto Rico, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, is voluntarily associated with the United States, along with its dependency, Vieques.

A delegation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, which led the Movement for independence, participated as guest in the Georgetown Conference of the NAM (1972) and its Havana Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1975), which asserted "quick and total coronation of the decolonization process in Latin America". The Bureau, reiterating the support of the NAM countries to the right of independence of the Puertoricans, demanded that the United States should not "disregard the national and inalienable rights of these peoples"<sup>140</sup>. The meeting also reiterated that "Puerto Rica is still one of the principal enclaves of colonialism" and expressed its "solidarity with the Anti-Colonialist struggle of its National Liberation Movement"<sup>141</sup>. The NAM conferences continued to reiterate the same.<sup>142</sup> The Socialist Party of Puerto Rico (SPPR) also continued to participate in the NAM conferences as an <sup>143</sup>Observer.

The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) condemned the installation of military bases in the island by the United States. The Conference also deplored that the territory suffered from colonialist exploitation and domination and demanded immediate independence.<sup>145</sup> The New Delhi NAM Ministerial Meeting (1986) condemned the transit of vessels equipped with nuclear weapons to Puerto Rico by the United States.<sup>146</sup> However, the territory has not yet achieved independence and is still under consideration of the United Nations.

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140. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 5, p. 135.

141. Ibid.

142. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 37, pp. 6, 11, 36, 104 and 121.

143. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.5, pp. 141, 179, 189, 248, 295, and 401; see also Ibid., n. 37, p. 6.

144. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 37, p. 197.

145. Ibid., pp. 193 and 242.

146. Ibid., p. 251.

(11) US VIRGIN ISLANDS

The US Virgin Islands consist of three inhabited islands (St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John) and about fifty smaller islands, situated at the eastern end of the Greater Antilles in the Caribbean Sea. The capital is Charlotte Amalie, on the island of St. Thomas. Of the population of 27,615 (1950), 90% people are Negroes and 10% are Whites.

These islands were first discovered by the Europeans in 1493, and since then it passed through many hands and lastly the Dutch sold them to the United States<sup>147</sup> in 1917. It is now an unincorporated territory of the United States. The inhabitants are US citizens but they have no right to vote for Presidential elections. However, the United States revised the organic Act in 1954, and granted a measure of self-government.<sup>148</sup> Since 1954, the people are demanding greater constitutional autonomy.

On July 31, 1980, the territory adopted a draft constitution<sup>149</sup> in consultation with the United States, which assured "to respect the freely expressed wishes of the people with regard to their future".<sup>150</sup> The United States exploited the natural resources, enjoyed all mineral rights and occupied submerged lands off their coastlines. The United States agreed to place the draft constitution for referendum and to approve it after reviewal or modification by the US Congress. Referendum held in the past and lastly in 1981 rejected each such draft of constitution. In fact, the people are not in favour of independence fearing that autonomy or independence will bring changes which will involve new taxes and economic problems. The United States has declared to welcome any constitutional reforms by the islanders, which may not endanger the US national security.<sup>151</sup>

However, since there is also demand for greater constitutional autonomy by some sections of the people, it is expected that the territory would be influenced by the objectives and activities of the Non-aligned Movement and start struggle for independence.

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147. Preston E. James, n. 2, p. 833.

148. The Europa Year Book, n.1, Vol. II, p. 2984.

149. YUN, n. 36, 1980, Vol. 34, p. 1087.

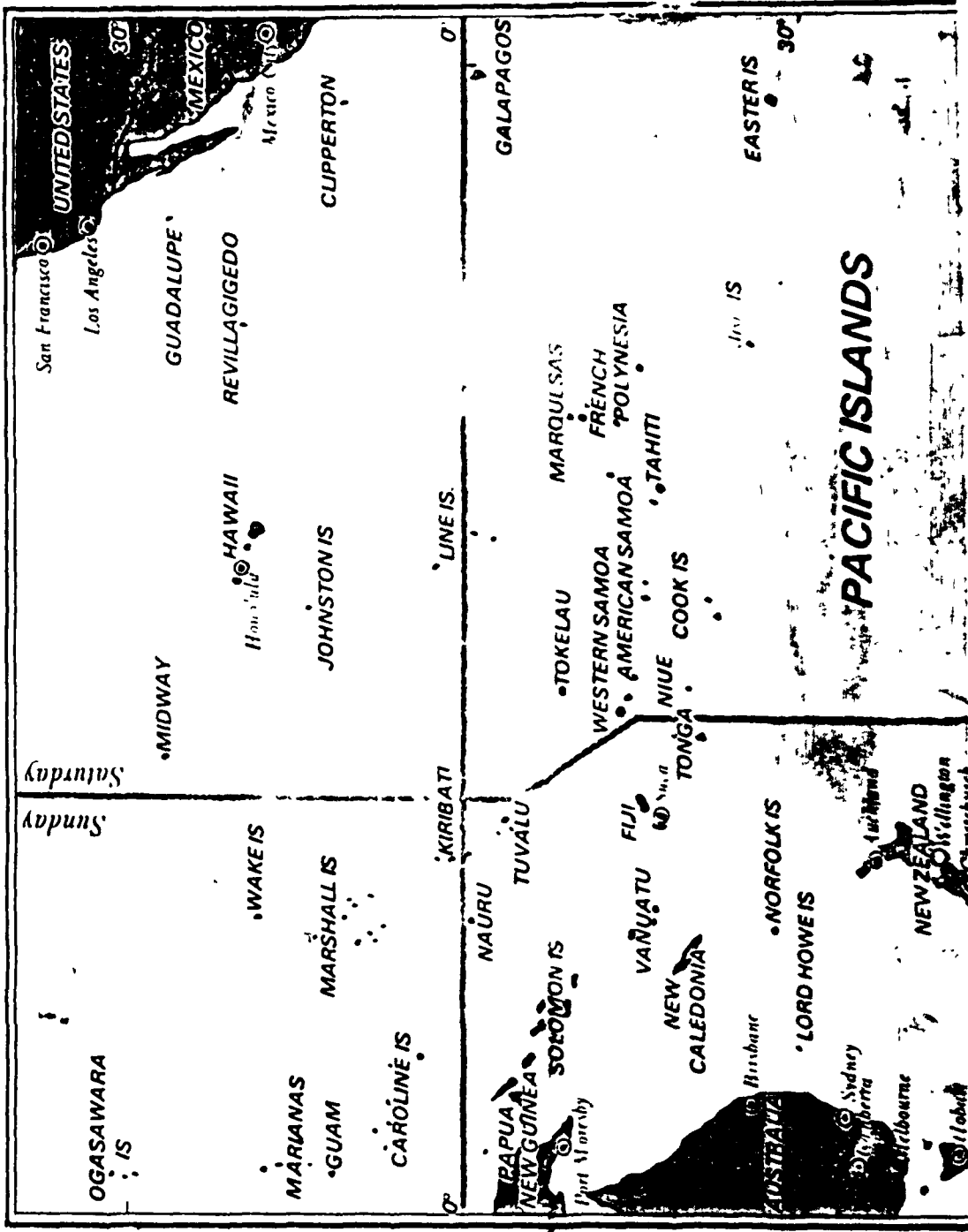
150. Ibid.

151. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. II, p. 2984.

CONCLUSION

The NAM resolutions, its activities and increasing popularity helped in decolonization of a number of territories in the Caribbean Sea islands. In 1947, though Guadeloupe and Martinique were granted independence by France, but they are still French colonies. A number of British colonies achieved independence: Jamaica on August 6, 1961, Trinidad and Tobago on August 31, 1962, Barbados on November 30, 1966, Bahamas on July 10, 1973, Bermuda on September 18, 1973, Grenada in 1974, Dominica and Haiti in 1978, St. Lucia in 1979, St. Vincent and the Grenadines in 1980, Antigua and Barbuda on November 1, 1981, and St. Kitts-Nevis (St. Christopher-Nevis) on September 19, 1983. Anguila is a self-governing territory under the British Administration since 1976. In Turks and Caicos Islands, interim government has been established in March, 1988, to replace the Governor's Council. The British Virgin Islands have been granted extensive self-government in 1977. Montserrat has its own constitution and administration but is a British colony. Puerto Rico has been admitted to the British Commonwealth and has voluntarily associated itself with the British Administration. The US Virgin Islands is an unincorporated territory of the United States.

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SOURCE: Pacific Islands Monthly (Sydney), Vol. 54, No. 9, Sept., 1983, p. 3.

## CHAPTER VIII

### NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN THE PACIFIC

Movements for political freedom and decolonization were accelerated with the proclamation of the NAM principles against colonialism and neo-colonialism. However, the Pacific islands remained under the influence of America, Australia, the Britain and New Zealand, who, on the one hand, exploited their natural resources and, on the other, granted the people of these islands some self-governing powers in the face of the rising wave of independence. Hence, the liberation movements were delayed in this region due to its small population, which was mostly illiterate, and remoteness from the Asian mainland, which was the home of the NAM activities. But gradually, the NAM became popular in these islands also through the Micronesians who visited the United States and Europe and learnt about the NAM declarations and resolutions.

The NAM disarmament movement also had an impact in the region. The Nuclear Free Pacific Conference<sup>1</sup> held in Suva in April, 1975, attended by more than 80 delegates from national and international organizations opposed the French nuclear testing and the continuing colonialism and imperialism in the Pacific. The conference observed that about two-thirds of Tinians, in the Marianas, had been taken over by the US army. Guam and Hawaii protested against the use of many areas of good agricultural land for military purposes. New Hebrides and New Caledonia spoke for independence and Maori delegate from New Zealand demanded their lost land.

The NAM was the guiding force of the struggle for national emancipation in the Pacific. It inspired the intellectuals of the Pacific. Revolutionary underground papers lit the flame of desire for independence. In the Ode to Abe, Yap Senator John Mangefel, the Micronesian Man of the Year (1975), hopes that Micronesia would "again become self-sufficient and self-governing"<sup>2</sup>. He says that the Americans have sowed the seed of disunity in Micronesia and they "fool our Micronesian family"<sup>3</sup>, adding that the Americans "truly believe in the idea of democratic fairness. But ... they believe it for themselves, but not always for others"<sup>4</sup>.

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1. Pacific Islands Monthly (Sydney), Vol. 46, No.6, June, 1975, p. 25. (Henceforth PIM).

2. Ibid., No.4, April, 1975, p. 19.

3. Ibid., p. 21.

4. Ibid.

From June, 1961, to September, 1977, the NAM held nineteen important meetings including five Summit conferences of heads of state or government and it is certain that the Pacific Islands, owing to vast network of news agencies, came to know about them. Naturally, the desire for independence has burnt in their heart. But since they are surrounded by imperialist colonies and depend to a great extent on their assistance, they did not dare to join the NAM. However, they could also not restrain their desire for independence instead of remaining protectorates or being granted self-government. Thus, the decolonization in the Pacific Islands was an indirect result of the Non-aligned Movement and its moral force, which forced the administering powers to bow down and fulfil the aspirations of the people of the region.

The Pacific Conference of Churches at its meeting at Port Moresby in February, 1976, condemned the continued use of the Pacific by foreign powers, which occupy the areas of the Pacific for "nuclear weapons testing, storage, waste dumping, the mining of uranium for destructive purposes and the disregard of the stated wishes of the people of the Region for self-determination in this matter"<sup>5</sup>. The conference reiterated its February, 1974 demand for the creation of a Nuclear Free Pacific Zone.

In 1977, at the UN General Assembly, Western Samoa's Prime Minister, Turuola Effi, expressed his sympathy "with the people of the New Hebrides in their struggle for freedom"<sup>6</sup> and hoped that the Solomon Islands, the Gilbert Islands and Tuvalu would soon achieve independence. He felt sorry that the elements of colonialism were lingering on in the Pacific, as well as elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, in September, 1977, the United States claimed 25 islands in five Pacific chains<sup>8</sup> as her colonies. The Pacific islands are used by the United States, Japan and Great Britain for military purposes. Christmas Island hosts a Japanese satellite tracking station. The United States uses the islands of the Phoenix chain for their missile tracking programmes. On some of the islands, the British have their air bases.<sup>9</sup> So, colonialism is still

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5. Ibid., Vol. 47, No. 3, March, 1976, p. 15.

6. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 12, December, 1977, p. 9.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., No. 9, September, 1977, p. 57.

9. Ibid., No. 12, December, 1977, p. 17.

rampant in the Pacific. The NAM pronouncements against colonialism and neocolonialism cautioned the Pacific nations against the imperialist designs. They have risen and are struggling to safeguard their boundaries, both on land and sea. It is expected that, in view of the NAM policy of establishing Zones of Peace, sea area would also be decolonized in the Pacific region. On the other hand, in 1977, the United States claimed 200-nautical miles within the Line Island's waters which included "an expanse of ocean nearly as large as the continental USA"<sup>10</sup>.

Since the White race has dominated the Pacific islands, the Western countries have helped the missionaries Christianize the local people. Having, by and large, become co-religionists of Europe, the people of these islands have some spiritual relations with them. In spite of this, the Colonial Powers continue to exploit the natural resources of the islands. The islanders seek justice in the London courts. Europe and the United States help the islanders financially. Further, the natural resources of some islands have made them prosperous and they do not like the political domination of foreign powers and have launched movements for independence. They dislike Communism and prefer democracy. They consider Communism a menace to their religion and culture. However, the islanders, to safeguard their integrity, try to keep themselves aloof from power politics. Thus, though they do not directly participate in the NAM conferences, they are influenced by the NAM, due to its role in the decolonization of some islands in the Pacific.

In July, 1983, a Conference for a Nuclear-free and Independent Pacific was hosted by the Vanuatu Government at Port Vila. It was attended by 2,000 diplomats belonging to different races - Polynesians, Melanesians, Micronesians, Japanese, American Indians, Europeans, Filipinos and Australian Aborigines. Deputy Prime Minister Sathy Regenvanu reiterated the anti-nuclear stance of his government and opposed the "continuing colonialism in the Pacific"<sup>11</sup>. Resolutions adopted at the conference called for, among other things, ending colonialism and nuclear testing, recognition of land rights of the aborigines and

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10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., Vol. 54, No. 9, September, 1983, p. 29.

cessation of uranium mining on aboriginal lands. The deliberations and resolutions showed that the Pacific nations believed that Asian aid would be helpful "in achieving an unpolluted, independent Pacific"<sup>12</sup>.

Socialist ideas are taking roots in the minds of the Polynesian freedom fighters owing to as many as 101 of nuclear explosions by France between 1966 and 1983 in the region and a plan to continue such experiments till the year 2000, besides building of large naval transport base in spite of the protest of the people, who asked the French bombers "to go home and carry out their allegedly harmless tests in their own backyard"<sup>13</sup>.

The NAM has given an impetus to the ongoing struggle for self-determination and independence in the Pacific islands, giving a momentum to socialist ideas, which have made the people hostile to foreign occupation of their lands. Looking upon colonialism as a devil and a peril, as against socialism and democracy as a harbinger of peace and self-reliance, the Pacific islanders are struggling to become independent of the "big brother" patronising attitude of the colonialists. It is worth noting the US policy in this regard. Replying to the question: "When will the U.S. accept that autonomy and independence mean governments in places like Palau?", a US presidential adviser said: "The Reagan administration cannot be asked to consider seriously the opinions of countries of 15,000 people in opposition to the views of the political leaders of the U.S."<sup>14</sup>.

The extent to which the NAM has made its inroads in the Pacific can be assessed from the observation of the Fifteenth South Pacific Forum, held at Funafuti, Tuvalu, on August 27-28, 1984, that the "Asian countries are expanding their power and influence at a pace beyond the aspirations"<sup>15</sup>. The conference realised that islanders' consciousness of the serious consequences attending upon conflicts between the United States, France and the United Kingdom, for expanding their territories for purposes of nuclear tests. It noted that the Monurora Report had not only described the extent to which the 100 nuclear tests contaminated

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12. Ibid., p. 31.

13. Ibid., Vol. 55, No.2, February, 1984, p. 33.

14. Ibid., No. 6, June, 1984, p. 10.

15. Ibid., No.10, October, 1984, p. 21.



and damaged the island, but also expressed concern over the "state of health of the 166,000 inhabitants of all the other islands in French Polynesia<sup>16</sup>".

There are people, who, being inspired by the NAM policies regarding disarmament and decolonization, do not like foreign domination. Fiji, Tonga and some other island nations welcomed visits to their ports by American naval ships without asking whether they were nuclear-powered or were carrying nuclear weapons. The PNG opposition leader, Paul Torato, accused the PNG Prime Minister, Michael Somare, "of all manner of sins, ranging from "seeking super-power popularity" to "betraying the security interests of PNG"<sup>17</sup>. The Pacific nations think that US nuclear-powered ships maintain balance in the region. They are afraid that if the Americans "went home", the Russian nuclear fleet, which is operating near the Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, will take their place. Thus, they prefer to enjoy their freedom beneath the awful nuclear umbrella of the United States. But for this protection, they have to pay a high cost. The United States exploits the natural resources of the seas and islands. Though the islanders desire to get rid of the US warships at their door, they are powerless and have to be content with their fate.

In a conversation with the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, David Lange, Premier of New Zealand, pleaded that the South Pacific nations "be free to make their own decisions on whether or not to permit a nuclear presence in their part of the world"<sup>18</sup>. He said that the motive of nuclear weapons was to enhance security, but, in fact, it enhanced insecurity, and, hence, no country wanted to be surrounded with nuclear weapons. The above discussion reveals that though the Pacific islanders are, they are, in effect, dependent nations.

The Pacific nations, like the PNG, indirectly recognise the NAM objectives and its role in decolonization, both economic and political. The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which includes some NAM members, also assures assistance to nations struggling for

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16. Ibid., Vol. 55, No.10, October, 1984, p. 29.

17. Ibid., Vol. 56, No. 6, June, 1985, p. 5.

18. Ibid., p. 17.

independence and against colonialism and neocolonialism. The PNG Foreign Minister, John Giheno, speaking in July, 1985, to a session of the ASEAN in Kuala Lumpur, said: "Island nations were committed to the quest for a peaceful solution to the Caledonian issue and sought ASEAN support for that cause"<sup>19</sup>.

The political developments in the Pacific islands and the role of the NAM in their decolonization are stated below:

(A) NORTH PACIFIC

(1) TOKELAU

Situated in the Central Pacific Ocean, Tokelau comprises three atolls, with an area of 10 sq. km. and a population of 1,900, according to the 1961 census.

The NAM conferences inspired the people of Tokelau to fight for independence from the Administering Power - New Zealand. Inadequate training and education were hindrances to the granting of self-determination and independence to the territory. In 1968, political changes were "insufficient to enable the people to exercise their right of self-determination in the foreseeable future"<sup>20</sup>. New Zealand announced that the people would become independent when they expressed their desire for this.

Tokelauans rejected the proposal of union with "neighbouring island groups"<sup>21</sup> and its people preferred to migrate to New Zealand. In 1973, a Resettlement Scheme was implemented so that Tokelauans, on their own choice, could be resettled in New Zealand over a number of years<sup>22</sup>. The Scheme greatly encouraged the people "to seek solutions to their problems and decide their future status for themselves"<sup>23</sup>. In 1978, the Administering Power and Tokeluan elected leaders decided to set up an advisory committee on financial and budgetary questions<sup>24</sup>. The Government of New Zealand assured the people of its

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19. Ibid., Vol. 56, No. 8, August, 1985, p. 8.

20. The Yearbook of the United Nations (New York: UN, Department of Public Information), 1968, Vol. 22, p. 760 (Henceforth YUN).

21. Ibid., 1972, Vol. 26, p. 573.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., 1973, Vol. 27, p. 696.

24. Ibid., 1980, Vol. 34, p. 1085.

readiness to change their status, "enforcing a legislation on April 1, 1980", if they so desired.<sup>25</sup>

However, the territory is still on the list of the United Nations for further consideration and is a New Zealand colony.

## (2) EXTERNAL TERRITORIES OF USA

These territories include Johnston Atoll (including Sand Island), Kingman Reef,<sup>26</sup> Midway Islands<sup>27</sup> (including Eastern Island) and Wake Islands (including Wilkes and Peal Islands). The United States has made them a Naval Defence Sea Area and Airspace Reservation and closed them to public access.

Due to the small sizes and very little or no population, there is no political activity in these territories.

## (3) MICRONESIA

Micronesia includes the islands of Caroline, Federated States of Micronesia (Yap, Truk, Kosrae and Ponape), Guam, Hawaii, Marshalls, Northern Mariana and Palau. These Trust Territories were administered by the United States under an agreement approved by the Security Council of the United Nations in April, 1947.<sup>28</sup> The United States holds 2,100 islands in Micronesia.<sup>29</sup>

The Micronesian islanders founded the Congress of Micronesia in 1965. In 1966, the Congress adopted an official flag and became a political force.<sup>30</sup> However, the Administering Power continued to exercise control over the executive and legislative spheres thus "restricting

25. The Far East and Australasia (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1989, 19th edn.), p. 761.

26. Ibid., p. 770.

27. Ibid., p. 818.

28. Everyman's United Nations: A Complete Handbook of the Activities of the United Nations During its First Twenty Years, 1945-1965 (New York: UN Office of the Public Information, 8th edn., March, 1968), p. 372.

29. Everyman's United Nations: The Structure, Functions and Work of the Organization and its Related Agencies During the Years, 1945 - 1958 (New York: UN, Office of the Public Information, 6th edn., 1959), p. 367.

30. YUN, 1966, Vol. 20, n. 20, pp. 548-49.

progress towards self-determination and independence<sup>31</sup>". The Council of Micronesia demanded the expansion of Micronesian control over the executive and extension of powers of the legislature<sup>32</sup>, and urged the US government to train and appoint Micronesians to permanent positions and have uniform voting qualifications in all parts of the territory<sup>33</sup>. The Council hoped that the voting age would soon be lowered from 21 to 18 years in the Palau district as in other parts of the territory. The Administering Authority assured that Saipan people would also be able to participate as full members and not as mere observers in the Sub-Committee on Political Affairs. The Council was of the opinion that "transformation of the Advisory Committee into legislature composed of representatives of all seven districts<sup>34</sup>" was necessary. It recommended the expansion of the powers and functions of the district congresses. The US Government invited the people to express their wishes on their future status.

The district-wise description of the territories is given below:

(i) CAROLINE ISLANDS

During the Second World War, the United States captured the territory. In 1947, the United Nations established the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, including the Caroline Islands, under US administration. Due to struggle for independence, President Carter announced the termination of the Trusteeship in 1981.

(ii) FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

On July 12, 1978, the US Trust Territories - Kosrae, Ponape (formerly Pohnpei), Truk and Yap jointly ratified a draft constitution as a result of which the Federated States of Micronesia came into being<sup>35</sup> on May 10, 1979, comprising these four districts with a total population of 83,000 with its capital Kolonia on Ponape. Though the United States

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31. Ibid., 1967, Vol. 21, p. 618.

32. Everyman's United Nations, 1968, n. 28, p. 382.

33. YUN, 1959, Vol. 13, n. 20, p. 388.

34. Ibid., 1961, Vol. 15, p. 503.

35. Ibid., 1978, Vol. 32, p. 818; see also The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 766.

had agreed to terminate the UN Trusteeship Agreement for these territories by 1981, in fact, the Federation did not achieve independence but only self-government and it is still a strategic colony of strategic importance to the United States<sup>36</sup>. Independence was never a viable option for the Micronesians as they did not want "to be cast adrift from America"<sup>37</sup>. The American aid tied it so strongly that it had either to opt for free association with the United States or to isolate itself and survive on fish from the lagoons. With the US aid it has become a "middling power" in the Pacific. However, the United States has installed its military bases on the islands. The Luanda NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1985) demanded the implementations of UN resolution 1514 (XV) of December 14, 1960, 2621 (XXV) of October 12, 1970 and 35/118 of December 11, 1980, regarding the Declaration of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples so as to end the US domination in Micronesia<sup>38</sup>. The New York NAM Meeting (1985) reiterated the same.<sup>39</sup>

(iii) GUAM

Guam is the largest of the Mariana Islands covering an area of 541 sq. km. It is situated about 2,400 km. south-east of the Philippines and has a population of 130,400 (1987 census).

Guam was first visited by the Portuguese in 1521. After the American-Spanish War of 1898, Spain ceded it to USA and sold other Mariana Islands to Germany. Japan obtained the League of Nations' mandate over it in 1919. The US troops occupied<sup>40</sup> it in 1944.

By November, 1964, the Guamanians had acquired appreciable degree of self-government. However, progress towards "independence was not adequate"<sup>41</sup>. The constitutional changes in 1968 were "insufficient

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36. PIM, Vol. 55, No. 5, May, 1984, p. 25.

37. Ibid.

38. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement: Documents of the Gatherings of the Nonaligned Countries, 1983-1986, Vol. II (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1986), pp. 192-93.

39. Ibid., p. 242.

40. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 756.

41. The United Nations and Decolonization: Summary of the Work of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four (New York: UN, Office of Public Information, n.d.), p. 58.

to enable the people to determine their future except in terms of complete association with the administering power<sup>42</sup>". The people of the territory demanded a greater measure of self-government. As a result, a convention was held for the first time in 1970 to elect the indigenous Governor and Lt. Governor<sup>43</sup>, who urged that the establishment of US military bases "should be brought to an end as soon as possible"<sup>44</sup>. This was in pursuance of the Resolution on Disarmament adopted by the Lusaka NAM Conference (1970), which recommended "reduction and destruction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons"<sup>45</sup>. Instead the United States installed huge military bases and continued to assert the Organic Act of 1950, which did not give the people "enough say in vital areas of economic development and possession of land"<sup>46</sup>. The Guamanians continued their struggle to regain possession of lands held by the United States.

There was "a strong Asiatic strain running through the population of Guam"<sup>47</sup> during the Operation New Life in May, 1975, when more than 106,000 South Vietnamese refugees found a temporary haven on the island. These refugees brought the people of Guam closer to the NAM. The people of the territory demanded independence although the US military bases prevented them from exercising their inalienable right to self-determination. In May, 1980, President Jimmy Carter of USA constituted the Guamanian Commission on Self-Determination "to ascertain the desire of the people of Guam regarding their future political relationship with the United States"<sup>48</sup>. The President also called on the people to draft a constitution for replacing the then functioning federal laws. Guamanians have now become US citizens<sup>49</sup> but they have no right to take part in the US Presidential elections since Guam is an unincorporated territory of the United States.

42. YUN, 1968, Vol. 22, n. 20, p. 762.

43. Ibid., 1970, Vol. 24, p. 728.

44. Ibid.

45. Two Decades of Non-Alignment: Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1983), p. 57.

46. YUN, 1979, Vol. 33, n.20, p. 1041.

47. PIM, Vol. 46, No. 7, July, 1975, p. 14.

48. YUN, 1980, Vol. 34, n.20, p. 1083.

49. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 756.

(iv) HAWAII

Hawaii comprises a chain of volcanic and coral islands. It has 8 major and 124 minor islands. Its multiracial population was 1,082,500 in 1987. Captain Cook, who was the first to land on the Kauai Island in 1778, was killed on Hawaii in 1779. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, missionaries and other foreign settlers destroyed the indigenous Polynesian culture of Hawaii and Christianity became its national religion. In 1898, the Island was annexed by USA and became the fiftieth US state on August 21, 1959, and has remained so ever since.

Hawaii Island is ruled by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), headed by a nine-member board of trustees, which was first elected in 1980. Some Hawaiians look at the OHA with alarm and fear while others have a positive attitude. On the one hand, the Board of OHA has been urging upon the US Congress "to acknowledge the illegal and immoral actions of the United States in the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii"<sup>51</sup> and, on the other, it seeks to "achieve a better social and economic position in American society"<sup>52</sup>.

(v) MARSHALL ISLANDS

Marshall Islands consist of two groups of islands - the Ratak and the Ralik - comprising 31 atolls and covering about 180 sq. km. of land. Their population was 35,000 in 1986.

Spaniards visited these islands first in the sixteenth century. In 1899, Germany annexed them. Japan occupied them in 1914, and Japanese mandate over the islands was recognised by the League of Nations in 1920. In 1944-45, the United States captured the territory and the United Nations established the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (comprising the Caroline Islands, the Marshall Islands and the Northern Mariana Islands). The US navy controlled the islands from 1947 to 1951.<sup>53</sup>

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50. Ibid., p. 759; see also Harold Karan Jacobson, 'U.N. and Colonialism: A Tentative Appraisal', International Organization, Vol. 16, Winter, 1962, p. 301; see also Everyman's United Nations (March, 1968), n. 28, p. 386.

51. PIM, Vol. 55, No. 5, May, 1984, p. 35.

52. Ibid.

53. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 766.

In 1961, the Belgrade Summit Conference of the NAM and its subsequent conferences inspired the people of this territory to fight for their independence. As a result, the traditional and political leaders founded the Marshall Islands Political Status Commission (MIPSC) in 1973.

The Marshallese stated their long-standing grievances before the UN Trusteeship Council, which had a number of NAM members. The grievances related to the islands of the Kwajalein Atoll, where the US Defence Department conducted a massive missile-testing programme<sup>54</sup> and from where the Marshallese were evacuated and were forced to be settled on the crowded Ebeye Island (5 km from Kwajalein) inhabited by about 8,000 people. The Marshallese were not allowed to use the shopping, educational, health or recreational facilities at Kwajalein Island.<sup>55</sup> Hence, the MIPSC and the Kwajalein Atoll landowners demanded equal treatment for the Marshallese workers in Kwajalein. The MIPSC demanded its recognition and separation of Marshall Islands from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In May, 1977, the United States recognised the MIPSC and, on July 30, 1977, the people opted for separation from the Trust Territory.

The United States separately dealt with the Marshall Islands and Palau which also demanded separation. There were strong supporters of outright independence in the Marshalls. However, according to a draft constitution, approved by the Marshall Islands Constitutional Conference held on December 21, 1978, and adopted by voters in a referendum held on March 1, 1979, by a substantial majority legislative power was vested in the Nitijela (legislature) which was inaugurated on May 1, 1979.<sup>56</sup> The US Trusteeship ended in 1981.

#### (vi) NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS

The Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands comprises 16 islands having a land area of 471 sq. km. Only six of these islands (the largest being Saipan, Tinian and Rota) are inhabited. These are situated about 5,300 km. west of Hawaii and were once part of the US Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

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54. PIM, Vol. 48, No. 11, November, 1977, p. 25.

55. Ibid., p. 26.

56. Ibid., p. 25.



In 1973, the Joint Committee on Future Status of Mariana noted that Mariana Islands District had begun talks with the United States and expressed its strong desire to preserve the unity of the Territory.<sup>57</sup> The people of Mariana continued to press for their independence. On June 17, 1975, a plebiscite held there endorsed "the Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States of America".<sup>58</sup> The Northern Marianas, officially became a Commonwealth within the United States on March 24, 1976.

In October, 1977, President Carter approved a constitution of the Northern Mariana Islands, according to which in January, 1978, the former "Marianas District" became internally self-governing. It was formally admitted to Commonwealth Status in November, 1986.<sup>59</sup> The status will be fully implemented after 37 years when the US Trusteeship will come to an end.<sup>60</sup>

(vii) PALAU ISLANDS

The Republic of Palau consists of more than 200 islands situated about 4,450 miles south-west of Hawaii. Its capital is Koror on Koror Island. In 1988, it remained the last Trust Territory of the US Pacific Islands.

Palauans expressed desire for separation from four other island groups like the Marshalls. The United States dealt with the Palau as it did with Marshalls on the key issues of "future relations with the United States - military bases and financial aids".<sup>61</sup> However, in May, 1977, the United States recognised the Palau Political Status Commission. A referendum held on July 9, 1979, approved the draft constitution adopted by the Constitutional Conference on April 2, 1979. As a result, an interim legislative authority came into being in accordance with Secretarial Order No. 3027 dated September 29, 1979, "pending installation

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57. YUN, 1976, Vol. 30, n.20, p. 681; see also PIM, Vol. 46, No. 7, July, 1975, p. 19.

58. PIM, Vol. 47, No.5, May, 1976, p. 12.

59. Ibid., Vol. 55, No. 2, February, 1984, p. 15.

60. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 783.

61. PIM, Vol. 48, No. 11, November, 1977, p. 25.

of a constitutional government in Palau<sup>62</sup>". The district became the Republic of Palau on January 1, 1981.<sup>63</sup>

In August, 1982, the United States signed a Compact of Free Association with the Republic, according to which the Trusteeship was to end after the terms and principles of the Compact had been approved by the legislature of the Republic, by the US Congress and the UN Security Council. The Compact had the right to override the Palau constitution with a majority of 75% votes in its favour.<sup>64</sup>

To strengthen the US-Palauan Compact of Free Association, the United States granted an aid of \$ US 1 billion over fifty years, against which the Americans protested. Because of this opposition, the Palauans have imposed a ban on US nuclear weapons or bases on the soil of the Republic.

In April, 1984, a bill was tabled in the House of Delegates to create a Commission to study independence as an alternative to free association with the United States.<sup>65</sup> According to an American Peace Corps volunteer, Palau did not actually gain its independence in 1981. It gained self-government and "it will not gain independence for 50 years".<sup>66</sup> The Trust Territory Administration in Saipan said that Palauans would be independent if they agree that after independence the United States would control its foreign alliances.

In May, 1986, the UN Trusteeship Council endorsed the US decision for ending the Trusteeship agreement with these Islands. In April, 1988, the US Senate approved the terms of the Compact, but since the Supreme Court of Palau did not approve them, Palau withdrew from negotiations with the US government.<sup>67</sup>

However, the US Congress has not yet ratified the Compact, the Trusteeship Agreement is still effective, and the people of the country are struggling for complete independence.

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62. YUN, 1979, Vol. 33, n. 20, p. 1005.

63. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 785.

64. Ibid.

65. PIM, Vol. 55, No. 5, May, 1984, p. 7.

66. Ibid., p. 25.

67. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 785.

(B) SOUTH PACIFIC(1) EXTERNAL TERRITORIES OF AUSTRALIA

The External Territories of Australia include Ashmore and Cartier Islands<sup>68</sup> in the Timor Sea, which are uninhabited, but have petroleum prospects; Australian Antarctic Territory<sup>69</sup>, where Australia maintains scientific stations at Maswan, Davis and Casey; Coral Sea Islands<sup>70</sup>, where Australia has established a meteorological station on one of the Willis Group of Islands, while others are uninhabited; Heard and McDonald Islands<sup>71</sup>, which have no permanent inhabitants, Christmas Islands<sup>72</sup> and Cocos (Keeling) Islands<sup>73</sup>. Since these islands are very small and have very little or no population, there is no political activity.

(2) NAURU

Nauru is administered by Australia on behalf of a joint administering authority of Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom, under a Trusteeship Agreement, approved by the UN General Assembly on November 1, 1947. The total area of Nauru is 200 sq. km. with a population of about 0.008 million<sup>74</sup> (1982). Nauru is mostly a plateau.

Two-thirds of Nauru contain extensive phosphate deposits. Its economy depends entirely on the phosphate industry "conducted on a non-profit basis by the British Phosphate Commissioners, who represent<sup>75</sup> the Governments of Australia, New Zealand the United Kingdom.

The Cairo NAM Meeting (1961) laid stress on the "realisation of the aspirations of millions of people for independence and a better and more prosperous future"<sup>76</sup>. Since the prosperity of Nauruans

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68. The Europa Year Book, 1988: A World Survey (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1989), Vol. I, p. 397.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.; see also The Far East and Australasia, n.25, p. 744.

71. The Europa Year Book, n. 68, Vol. I, p. 397.

72. See Chapter IX.

73. See Chapter IX.

74. Frank School Atlas (New Delhi: Frank Brothers and Company (Publishers) Pvt.Ltd., 1982).

75. Everyman's United Nations, n. 29, p. 369.

76. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 45, p. 1.

depends on phosphate industry only, for want of fertile soil, the Nauruans have been demanding adequate royalties and "a capital fund sufficient to meet the costs of ensuring their future well-being"<sup>77</sup>.

Inspired by the NAM, the Nauruans intensified their struggle for independence. At a conference held in Canberra (Australia) the British Government agreed to a Nauruan proposal that "Legislative and Executive Councils be established by January 31, 1966"<sup>78</sup>, but it refused to grant independence. Instead, it "agreed to increase the royalty rates paid on phosphate"<sup>79</sup>. But the leaders of the territory raised the slogan "Nauru for the Nauruan people" and demanded that it be made a sovereign nation.

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Nauru became independent on January 31, 1968, and the Trusteeship Agreement ceased on that date. The Republic of Nauru is neither a member of the NAM nor of the United Nations<sup>81</sup>. In spite of Australia's exploitation of Nauruan's phosphate for two generations, "the Nauruan is one of the richest persons in the world"<sup>82</sup>.

### (3) NORFOLK ISLAND

Norfolk Island lies about 1,400 km. east of Brisbane off the eastern coast of Australia. It is 8 km. long and 4.8 km. wide. It was uninhabited in 1774 when Captain Cook discovered it. From 1788 to 1855, it was used as a 'penal settlement' and in 1856, it had 194 emigrants from Pitcarin Island. It remained a colony of New South Wales until 1897. In 1913, its administrative control was transferred to Australia<sup>83</sup>. Norfolk Island is still a part of the Commonwealth of Australia<sup>84</sup>.

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77. Everyman's United Nations, n. 29, p. 369.

78. Everyman's United Nations, n. 28, p. 379.

79. In 1974-75, Nauru shipped out 1.9 million tons of phosphate and earned \$ 123 million profit or "nearly \$ 31,000 for every Nauruan citizen, man, woman and child" ( see PIM, Vol. 47, No. 2, February, 1976, p. 5) while oil exports brought in \$ 51,000 per person in Abu Dhabi and \$ 9,000 in Kuwait. The phosphate deposit in Nauru is estimated to run out in about 18 years.

80. YUN, 1967, Vol. 21, n. 20, p. 598.

81. Ibid., p. 602.

82. PIM, Vol. 48, No. 6, June, 1977, p. 5.

83. The Europa Year Book, n. 68, Vol. I, p. 396.

84. PIM, Vol. 47, No. 6, June, 1976, p. 15.

Earlier in April, 1976, Cedric Hampson, a counsel assisting the Royal Commission, Justice Mimmo, said in an address that the Norfolk Island should have its own elected member in the Australian Parliament and should have greater self-governing power while remaining an Australian territory. Hampson stated that Norfolk Island Council should have all governmental powers, which should be transferred to it over a period of five years. He added that the Island's MP should be allowed "to speak on any measure, but would only be allowed to vote on a bill intended to apply to the island<sup>85</sup>".

The Fourth Elections held in 1987, under the 1979 Act, gave the Kingston government wide powers and the island "is progressing to responsible legislature and executive government". However, the Act "preserves the Australian government's responsibility for Norfolk Island as a territory under its authority<sup>86</sup>". In 1985, the Government of the island was given several other responsibilities including civil, defence, public works and services and more powers are expected to be given to it in the future.

The island could not escape from the impact of the NAM. Certain elements on the territory demand self-government and independence. However, those islanders who were born on the island but whose forefathers came to it from about 28 countries of Asia, Europe and Americas, oppose the implementation of some parts of the Nimmo Report on the future of the island<sup>87</sup>.

The island is still under the administrative control of Australia.

#### (4) PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Papua New Guinea (PNG) comprises the eastern half of the island of New Guinea, the islands of New Britain, New Ireland and Manus, the two northernmost islands of the Solomon Group, namely, Buka and Bougainville; the Trobriand, D'Entrecasteaux and Louisiade island group; and a great number of small islands, all of which together cover

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85. Ibid., No. 5, May, 1976, p. 13.

86. The Europa Year Book, n. 68, Vol. I, p. 396.

87. PIM, Vol. 48, No. 10, October, 1977, p. 18.

178,260 sq. miles, with a population which was estimated to be 2,531,882 (New Guinea 1,845,264 and Papua 686,618) in 1972. People of this country speak more than 600 languages.

New Guinea is a Trust Territory and Papua is a Non-Trust Territory. New Guinea is administered by Australia under a Trusteeship Agreement approved by the UN General Assembly on December 13, 1946. New Guinea and Papua form an administrative union known as the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, under the Papua and New Guinea Act, 1949-1971, with its administrative headquarters in Port Moresby (Papua). Papuans are Australian citizens but have no automatic right to enter Australia even temporarily, while the New Guineans are "Australian Protected Persons"<sup>88</sup>.

According to the statement of the Minister of Education of PNG in 1973, there has been a gradual process in progress towards self-determination and independence in the territory since 1951.<sup>89</sup>

The Legislative Council of Papua and New Guinea provides for the establishment of: (i) Administrator's Council; (ii) the House of Assembly and (iii) Local Government Council. These "democratically constituted and representative groups have been granted certain statutory powers within the areas of their jurisdiction"<sup>90</sup>.

Inspired by the NAM conferences and its vigorous support, the colonial people of the territory have been demanding increase in the number of Local Councils and greater power to exercise self-government in local matters, increase in the indigenous members of the Legislative Council, training for higher administrative position in the public service,<sup>91</sup> direct participation by the indigenous inhabitants in the economic development plans and establishment of secondary industries.

Since the people were unable to use their franchise freely and the House of Assembly did not function as a fully representative and effective body,<sup>92</sup> the people demanded abolition of special and reserved seats in the House of Assembly,<sup>93</sup> which was established under the Papua and New Guinea Act, 1963.

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88. Ibid., Vol. 40, No.2, February, 1969, p. 34.

89. YUN, 1973, Vol. 27, n. 20, p. 652.

90. Everyman's United Nations, n. 29, p. 369.

91. Ibid., p. 370.

92. YUN, 1966, Vol. 20, n. 20, p. 546.

93. Ibid.

Paulus Arek of Papua (Member of the PNG House of Assembly), a radical, stated in 1969, that "target dates for, successively, home rule, self-government and independence should be set now"<sup>94</sup>.

In 1971, the territories of Papua and New Guinea were jointly named as "Papua New Guinea"<sup>95</sup>. This anti-colonial movement waged by the NAM countries, made the people more enthusiastic for achieving independence. However, in 1973, the territory made steady progress towards the achievement of self-determination and "progressive steps to that end were being taken by the administering power"<sup>96</sup>. The Government of Australia and PNG signed an agreement for establishment of a time-table for granting independence, while the territory has been virtually self-governing since 1970. In 1973, the Minister of Education of PNG stated that self-government was accepted "as a matter of experience" and "independence would probably be attained by 1975"<sup>97</sup>.

There was a separatist movement in Papua. On March 16, 1975, one of the leaders of the Papua independence movement, Miss J. Abaijah, formally declared that "Papua is now a free and independent country. From this day we will not recognise the authority of any person involved with any foreign or colonial power or institution"<sup>98</sup>. She asserted that Papua could not be forced to join New Guinea. However, the Government took no action against her as the declaration did not affect the functioning of the services of the central government.

### Secession of Bougainville

In 1969, there was a breakaway movement from PNG in Bougainville. Inspired by the NAM, the secessionists protested against the "gross neglect"<sup>99</sup> of the people of the territory by the PNG government.

Bougainville leaders swore to wrest independence from PNG's central government. When Prime Minister Somare took up the reins of

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94. PIM, Vol. 40, No. 2, February, 1969, p. 40.

95. YUN, 1971, Vol. 25, n. 20, pp. 509-10.

96. Ibid., 1973, Vol. 27, p. 651.

97. Ibid., p. 652.

98. PIM, Vol. 46, No. 4, April, 1975, p. 7.

99. Ibid., Vol. 40, No. 2, February, 1969, p. 30.

the PNG government after leading a coup on June 18, 1975, he faced the secessionist threat by Bougainville's Leo Hannett and Father John Momis. However, there were differences among the Bougainvilleans themselves. The loyalists accused the secessionists of being power-hungry.<sup>100</sup> On behalf of the people of north Bougainville, Simon Kariup, President of the Buka Local Government, wrote to the Prime Minister<sup>101</sup> that "the island should remain part of PNG".

At the Arawa meeting held in August, 1975, PNG's Bougainville District Assembly announced its plan to declare the territory independent from PNG on September 1, 1975, or 15 days before PNG became an independent nation.

The PNG government sent emissaries to attempt a settlement with the secessionists. They offered transfer of financial and administrative powers to the territories, but the secessionists demanded separation. The Government looked upon "the Provincial Assembly (of Bougainville) as a child which would have been better stillborn".<sup>102</sup> Chief Minister Somare gave a few days to the Bougainvilleans to come forward with "any reasonable proposals".<sup>103</sup> Bougainvilleans announced that they would declare themselves independence on September 1, 1975, because the people, having become aware of and being inspired by the NAM, had "an obvious awareness of their own identity".<sup>104</sup>

The Shortland Islands in the Solomon Islands also declared their intention to secede from PNG and to join an independent Bougainville.<sup>105</sup>

Papua New Guinea gained independence on September 16, 1975, when the Trusteeship Agreement ceased to exist. The country was admitted to the United Nations on October 10, 1975.

#### (5) TORRES STRAIT ISLANDS

People of the Torres Strait Islands, an Australian colony, were also influenced by the NAM like those of other islands in the region.

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100. Ibid., Vol.46, No. 7, July, 1975, p. 18.

101. Ibid., p. 19.

102. Ibid., No. 9, September, 1975, p. 24.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid., p. 23.



They also wanted to retain control over their lands. They claimed that the "islands were given to them by their ancestors, and the islanders had to pass them on to their children"<sup>106</sup>. On the other hand, since these islands are situated between the Australian and PNG mainlands, both the countries wanted to annex them, while the islanders were determined not "to give an inch" to them. In May, 1976, Canberra decided to give the seabed of this island to PNG. The islanders felt that in this way their islands and its seas would also be claimed by PNG. Therefore, Getano Lui, Chairman of the Torres Strait Islanders' Advisory Council, declared that the islanders wanted "to remain within Australia's boundaries "and did not like to become part of PNG". He said that the islanders would not agree to give away "one grain of sand or one cup of water"<sup>107</sup> to PNG.

The people of these islands have accepted the administrative control of Australia over their territory.

#### (6) EASTER ISLAND

Inhabited by the Rapa Nui people of Polynesian stock, the Eastern Island lies 354 km. away from Chile, covering an area of 119 sq. km. Its population was 1,600 in 1978. It was a subject of international dispute between Spain and France in the eighteenth century, and was formally annexed by Chile in 1888.<sup>108</sup> The Chileans reduced the local population to absolute slavery, forcing them to work from sunrise to sunset, giving them just a little food and clothing and taking away their land and cattle. The Chileans rented the land out to foreign companies and the Rapa Nui people had to seek permission even to do the smallest things.

After the Second World War, there was a wave of emancipation movements in this island inspired by the Non-Aligned Movement. They asked themselves "Why should we alone of all colonial peoples not be entitled to freedom and independence?"<sup>109</sup> In 1960, they sent an open

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106. Ibid., Vol. 47, No. 6, June, 1976, p. 14.

107. Ibid.

108. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements (London: Taylor and Francis, 1985), p. 221.

109. PIM, Vol. 54, No. 9, September, 1983, p. 17.

letter to the Chilean President complaining that they were not being treated as human beings; that they were not permitted to travel freely; that they had no right to vote in Chilean elections even though they were citizens of the Valparaiso province, and so on. They hinted that they were of Polynesian blood and wanted to join the Polynesian Union that Tahiti wanted to form.<sup>110</sup> They demanded the end of colonialism from the island.

The Chilean Government sent two warships and a party of marines to the island and peace was restored as the marines went around with their fingers on the trigger. The island's leader was elected Commissioner and a new constitution gave the islanders the right to vote in the national elections having no effect. But this failed to appease the people since the Mayor became a puppet of the Chilean government.

Easter Islanders submitted a petition to the UN Committee of Twentyfour on Decolonization, seeking a referendum on the independence of the island. They did this after a lot of hesitation because of being "afraid of reprisals".<sup>111</sup> The preamble to the petition says: "In everything but name our island is a colony, and a colony of the worst and most oppressive type, for we islanders have no say in our affairs".<sup>112</sup> The petition also says that they were constantly being told that they were free Chilean citizens, but since their number was small, their votes carried no weight and all decisions were made over their heads on the mainland. "We have no way", the petition continues, "of making our voice heard, for there is no democratically elected council on the island".<sup>113</sup> The petition added that the economy of their island was controlled by Chile, which had increased their dependence on it.

Though they are poor sculptors, the islanders sell their creations to the tourists. They are conscious of the political developments in the world. Thus, indirectly, taking their cue from the NAM nations, they have started demanding independence. The petition has started the process of decolonization of the Easter Island, which continues to be under the administrative control of Chile.

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110. Ibid., p. 18.

111. Ibid., p. 17.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid.

(7) EXTERNAL TERRITORIES OF FRANCE

The territories under French control in the Pacific region comprise two groups of islands: the Wallis Islands (also known as Uvea), which includes the main island and 23 islets and the other, Futuna (or Hooru), comprising two islands - Futuna, the main island and Alofi. These islands are located to the north of Fiji and west of Samoa. They have a total area of 274 sq. km. and a population of 12,408<sup>114</sup> (1985).

Wallis and Futuna islands became French Protectorates in 1888, and overseas territories in 1961. Since the administration concentrated excessively on Wallis Islands, in November, 1983, kings of both the islands decided to have a separate administration as overseas territories of France. The territories are administered by a French-appointed Chief Administrator, who is assisted by a Territorial Assembly in Mata-Uta.<sup>115</sup>

(8) FRENCH POLYNESIA

French Polynesia covers a land area of 4,200 sq. km. and contains six island groups: Society, Tuamatu, Austral, Gambier, Marquesas and Rapa. Its capital is Papeete (on Tahiti in the Society Islands group). The total population of these territories was 176,543 in 1985.

Society Islands comprise the windward group (Tahiti and Moorea) and the leeward group (Huahine, Raiatea, Borabora and Maupiti). The Tuamotu Archipelago has 78 islands stretching for about 1,500 km. The Austral or Tubuai group is made up of the islands of Mangareva, Taravai and two others. Marquesas island is divided into a northern group (Nuku Hira) and a southern one. Rapa Island is situated in the south-east of Tubai.<sup>116</sup>

In 1767, Wallis visited Tahiti and other Society Islands. In 1842, Tahiti was made a French protectorate and between 1885 and 1900, other groups were annexed to it under a decree and had this status up to

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114. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 819.

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid., p. 752.

1957, when the French declared it an 'Overseas' territory and instituted a Council and a Territorial Assembly in Papeete.

In September, 1970, the Lusaka NAM Summit Conference urged upon the French government to permit "the peoples of their colonies" to "exert freely and under the control of the UN and the OAU their right to self-determination"<sup>117</sup>. In consequence, the people of the islands demanded "increased local autonomy"<sup>118</sup> in 1977. In September, 1982, the Pupu Here Al'a Party (PHAP) sought territorial autonomy and greater (not full) independence from France. As a result, France approved a new statute and Flosse became the first President of the Council of Ministers of the territory. In February, 1985, Papeete and Noumea signed "an anti-independence alliance protocol", which was described as "illegal" and "unconstitutional"<sup>119</sup> by the French High Commissioner to New Caledonia.

In December, 1987, Alexandre Leontieff took over power and adopted a policy "less dominated by the French". He launched a protest movement, along with Australia and New Zealand, against France, which has been testing nuclear weapons at Nururoa Atoll in the Tuamotu Archipelago from the year 1966 and had carried out as many as 100 underground tests from 1975 to 1988 in this region.

French Polynesia is still an overseas territory of France.

#### (9) NEW CALEDONIA

New Caledonia comprises one large island (New Caledonia) lying to the west of Vanuatu, having a land area of 16,750 sq. km. and several smaller islands - Loyalty Islands and the uninhabited Chesterfield Islands. The total population of the territory was 145,368 in 1983. Its capital is Noumea.

The territory, a dependency of Tahiti, became a French possession in 1853. The French continued to seize the Malanesian lands suppressing the Kanaks' rebellion, the last of which took place in 1917. New Caledonia

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117. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 45, p. 51.

118. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 752.

119. Ibid.

became an overseas territory of the French Republic in 1946, after its people had launched their freedom movement.

The NAM conferences helped the growth of nationalism and demand for independence in the territory. Noumea's most vociferous newspaper, Bernut's Voix due Cagou, criticised the "colonialist" policies of the local French Administration. The French found no way of strengthening their domination due to the popular movement for their emancipation. During the 1960s, the French established a territorial assembly in the island and granted it "substantial self-government"<sup>120</sup>.

Oliver Stirn, the French Secretary of State for Overseas Departments and Territories, held a meeting with members of the Polyseria's Territorial Assembly in March, 1975, and announced new autonomy proposals, revising the territory's statute "to provide for greater autonomy for local government, the creation of a consultative economic and social council and increased judicial and economic powers for townships"<sup>121</sup>. However, since the Territorial Assembly wanted the Polynesian Prime Minister to be chosen by election, and Stirn wanted to get the statute revised by the Assembly before it was submitted to the French Parliament, the conflict between Paris and Noumea continued. The French suggested meeting the annual budget deficit of the territory. The Caledonians characterised it as a "step towards integrating the island as a dependency of France, making it in effect a department of France"<sup>122</sup>. As the French National Assembly postponed consideration of the amended political statutes of New Caledonia until autumn, its Deputy to the French National Assembly, Roch Pidjot, demanded in July, 1976, internal autonomy before 1978. The Deputy, encouraged by the NAM declarations and its support for independence movement, threatened that if internal autonomy was not granted, "the Caledonians will turn towards independence, in despair"<sup>123</sup>.

In December, 1976, the French Parliament decided to make the Caledonian statutes effective immediately after elections in the territory on September 11, 1977. But these statutes did not bring the governance

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120. Ibid., p. 774.

121, PIM, Vol. 46, No. 4, April, 1975, p. 8.

122. Ibid., Vol. 47, No. 8, August, 1976, p. 29.

123. Ibid.

of the territory under popular control. The French controlled the "local government", sea and mining under Paris "guardianship"<sup>124</sup>, which allowed direct intervention of France at the municipal level.

French domination resulted in protests and the NAM conferences supported the local people's demand for independence. The French Minister for Overseas Territories repeatedly insisted that "he will not grant these territories (Polynesians and Caledonians) autonomie interne (internal self-government) but the Caledonians were determined to "obtain real internal self-government or, failing that, press for independence"<sup>125</sup>.

The French suppressed the 'autonomy movement'. Ex-French Premier, Nessmer, said that New Caledonia was a "showcase for France"<sup>126</sup>, which showed that the territory was a crucial pawn in the French power game. The French wanted to use New Caledonia "to influence Pacific countries on behalf of Paris". French navy, based in Noumea, visited the offshore Chesterfield Islands in October, 1977, and commemorated there the "100th anniversary of their annexation by the French in 1877"<sup>127</sup>.

A Conference for a Nuclear-free and Independent Pacific, held in July, 1983, in Port Vila (Vanuatu), demanded the independence of New Caledonia in 1984.<sup>128</sup> Owing to the tyrannical attitude of France, the people naturally drew spiritually nearer to the NAM objectives and intensified their movement, which forced the Colonial Power to propose a 'statute of autonomy'. This statute was characterised as "a treaty of occupation"<sup>129</sup> by the Independence Front (IF) parties at the 14th annual conference of FULK, which was attended by more than 100 delegates, held at Mare Island in the Loyalty group of Islands. The conference denounced the autonomy proposals and the IF demanded independence in 1985. On the other hand, the anti-Independence Republican Party demanded the holding of elections in July, 1984, in order to keep the IF-Centre

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124. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 11, November, 1977, p. 20.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid., No.12, December, 1977, p. 20.

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid., Vol. 54, No. 9, September, 1983, p. 29.

129. Ibid., Vol. 55, No. 2, February, 1984, p. 31.

Party coalition in power. The Republican Party also rejected the statute and described it as "full of contradictions" and called for "a return to democracy". The Caledonian Front demanded a referendum on self-determination in 1989.<sup>130</sup> On July 31, 1984, the French National Assembly passed a new statute for New Caledonia giving it internal autonomy, leading to a referendum on its future in 1989.<sup>131</sup>

The Kanaks formed the 'Kanak National Socialist Liberation Front (FLNKS) and their "active boycott" of the November 18, 1984 elections was like a rock hurled into a lake. The Kanaks wanted sovereignty but had not demanded a total break with France.<sup>132</sup>

On January 7, 1985, President Mitterrand's Special High Commissioner in New Caledonia proposed a poll on self-determination to be held on July 1, 1985, and "if the vote is favourable, New Caledonia will be raised to the dignity of sovereign state" on January 1, 1986. He said that it would be "a democratic and multi-racial state, entitled to join international organisations".<sup>133</sup> He promised that a special long-term regime would be set up for Noumea. In view of the differences between the objectives of the French Government, the Kanaks and the French settlers, the territory has been divided into three countries: "the French Government controls Noumea, the Kanaks have the east coast, and the locally-born French have a shaky hold on the west coast".<sup>134</sup>

On August 20, 1988, France, RPCR and FLNKS agreed on a draft bill "setting out the statutory and preparatory measures for the 10-year transitional statute and the vote on self-determination" in New Caledonia. A referendum was held on November 6, 1988, by which the Kanaks approved the "provisions for self-determination",<sup>135</sup> while the White southern region rejected the proposals.<sup>136</sup>

New Caledonia is still a French colony.

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130. Ibid.; see also for further details Ibid., No. 5, May, 1984, p.9.

131. Ibid., No. 9, September, 1984, p.5.

132. Ibid., Vol. 56, No. 2, February, 1985, p. 16.

133. Ibid., p. 17.

134. Ibid.

135. Keessing's Contemporary Archives: Record of World Events (London: Longman's Group Limited), Vol. XXXIV, December, 1988, p. 36349.

136. Ibid.

(10) VANUATU (NEW HEBRIDES)

The Republic of Vanuatu comprises an archipelago of some 80 islands including the Banks and Torres Islands, stretching to the east of New Caledonia from Solomon Islands to Hunter and Matthew Islands, and covering an area of 12,190 sq. km, with a population of 140,154 in 1986. Its capital is Port Vila.

In 1906, an Anglo-French condominium was established which governed the territory until 1980. The three powers - the British, the French and the Condominium (Joint) Departments, were responsible to their respective citizens, while the people of New Hebrides had no right to claim British or French citizenship. There were "two official languages, two police forces, three public services, three courts of law, three currencies, three national budgets and two resident commissioners in Port Vila"<sup>137</sup>. More than 36% of the land was owned by foreigners. After the Second World War, Na-Griamel, the first political party of New Hebrides emerged, which under the influence of the NAM, demanded independence.

In 1964, in New Hebrides "the political institutions and executive machinery were not fully representative of the people", who were unable to "express their wishes through well-established democratic process based on the principle of universal adult suffrage"<sup>138</sup>. The inhabitants of the islands struggled for greater power and independence but the United Kingdom and France, who jointly administered the region, did not agree to make any constitutional changes, nor did they entertain any proposals for change.<sup>139</sup>

Inspired by the NAM, the New Hebrideans launched a heroic struggle against colonialism, for achieving freedom, justice and peace. They demanded immediate introduction of representative political institutions and executive machinery in conformity with the principles of the UN Charter.<sup>140</sup>

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137. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 814.

138. The United Nations and Decolonization: Summary, n. 41, p. 61.

139. YUN, 1967, Vol. 21, n.20, p. 685.

140. Ibid., 1969, Vol. 23, p. 669.



However, the Franco-British administration was "an obstacle to the political and economic advancement of the people<sup>141</sup>". The forced construction of a new airstrip at Norsup on North Malekula against fierce opposition from the Tautu people and threats of the New Hebrides National Party made it clear that the Condominium Government was not a Government of the New Hebrideans but that of the white minorities who were citizens of Britain and France<sup>142</sup>.

In November, 1975, the introduction of the French-style electoral system caused a split among the people of the territory into, at least, six conflicting groups. In the election, the National Party gained an overwhelming majority. Its leader, Rev. Walter Lini, iterated his call for independence by 1977, while Jimmy Stevens, leader of the Nagriamel Party based in Santo, had already called for Britain's withdrawal and gave "the British the final command to get out<sup>143</sup>". The UCNH Party leader, Remy Delaveuve, demanded fresh elections based on universal suffrage<sup>144</sup>. The Premier of Western Samoa expressed his sympathies with the people in their struggle for freedom<sup>145</sup>. On June 5, 1976, the French Resident Commissioner, Robert Gauger, told the islanders that the country would be "neither French, nor British", as the two powers led it "to independence<sup>146</sup>". Due to the impact of the NAM, the Administering Powers kneeled down and fresh elections were held on February 24, 1977.

The Fifth Congress of the Vanuaaku Pati condemned the British and French colonial presence in New Hebrides, reaffirmed the party's stand for independence in 1977, resolved that "the New Hebrides would now be called Vanuaaku (Our Land), called for exclusion of the six Chamber of Commerce seats from the Assembly, and declared that from January 22, 1977, the British and French District Agents would no longer have jurisdiction within the rural areas<sup>147</sup>".

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141. Ibid., 1972, Vol. 26, p. 573.

142. PIM, Vol. 46, No. 4, April, 1975, p. 26.

143. Ibid., Vol. 47, No. 5, May, 1976, p. 11.

144. Ibid., No. 6, June, 1976, p. 10.

145. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 12, December, 1977, p. 9.

146. Ibid., Vol. 47, No. 8, August, 1976, p. 29.

147. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 4, April, 1977, p. 17.

An internal self-government was granted to the territory in 1978, but this did not satisfy the people. A new constitution was agreed upon and elections held on November 14, 1979, were fair and free. The newly elected government fixed the timing of independence in the middle of 1980. Accordingly, New Hebrides attained independence on July 30, 1980.<sup>148</sup> It was backed by the Pacific Forum and was renamed as the Republic of Vanuatu.

(11) SOCIETY (TAHITI) ISLANDS

Tahiti is one of the Polynesian Windward Islands, including the Moorea Islands. In spite of protests by the government of Australia and New Zealand, France continued with its nuclear tests in this region,<sup>149</sup> which strained relations between Australia and New Zealand on the one hand and French Polynesia on the other.

The NAM anti-colonial movement inspired the people of these islands, but, instead of independence, they wanted more power. On June 10, 1975, a Tahiti delegation visited Paris for a week and organised a mass protest of "angry, tense and determined people, led by the internal autonomy political party". The political leaders of Tahiti demanded a President elected by the people. Olivier Stirn, the French Secretary of State for Overseas Departments and Territories rejected this demand. He said: "Either Polynesia will be an independent state or Polynesia remains part of the French Republic".<sup>150</sup>

Francis Sanford, the French National Assembly Deputy in Paris, did not agree with Stirn and said that Tahiti had a long-standing proposal pending before the National Assembly demanding an elected Government Council President and not a civil servant. The Territorial Assembly President, Frantz Vanizette, pointed out that the independence of Tahiti was not on the agenda and demanded a Government Council presided over by an elected President. Meanwhile, Gaston Flosse, getting a majority in the Assembly, was re-elected President, defeating Vanizette, who, in his turn, declared Flosse's election illegal.<sup>151</sup>

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148. YUN, 1980, Vol. 34, n. 20, p. 1084.

149. PIM, Vol. 46, No. 6, June, 1975, p. 25.

150. Ibid., No. 7, July, 1975, p. 4.

151. Ibid., Vol. 47, No. 8, August, 1976, p. 10.

Flosse led the UDR (Gaulist) while Vanizette led the independents. The former was content with an elected Vice-President with the Governor retaining the Presidency, while the latter demanded an elected President. However, due to unusual alliance between the Flosse and the Vanizette forces, the Assembly was dissolved. Stirn agreed to give Tahiti "more self-determination in running its own affairs"<sup>152</sup>. The Territorial Assembly and the citizens called for independence, while Sanford demanded a referendum and threatened to seek assistance from the United Nations. He also demanded a new statute and internal autonomy.

Though the Tahitians achieved some measure of power, the French Minister for Overseas Territories refused to grant autonomie interne (internal self-government), while the Tahitians were determined to obtain "real internal self-government or, failing that, press for independence"<sup>153</sup>. On the other hand, Ex-French Premier, Pierre Messmer, declared that his party (RPR) was "determined to oppose all autonomist activity ...for that would lead to separatist attitudes". Since Tahiti was on the road to internal autonomy, France began to think "whether to give in or fight for this territory"<sup>154</sup>.

The territory is still a French colony.

## (12) COOK ISLANDS

Cook Islands comprising 13 inhabited and 2 uninhabited ones are situated between Samoa and Tahiti. The northern Cooks are all atoll while the southern ones are all volcanic. The total area of the islands is 237 sq. km. and the population was 17,185 in 1986. The capital of the territory is Avarua on Rarotonga.<sup>155</sup>

The Cook Islands were first visited by James Cook in 1773. It became a British protectorate in 1888, and a part of New Zealand in 1901. Administered under the provisions of the Cook Islands Act, 1915, the people were unable to "express their wishes through well-established democratic process"<sup>156</sup>. Hence, they started their struggle for independence.

152. Ibid., p. 11.

153. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 11, November, 1977, n. 20.

154. Ibid., No. 12, December, 1977, p. 20.

155. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 741.

156. The United Nations and Decolonization: Summary, n. 41, n. 55.

The 9-point<sup>157</sup> programme of the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) inspired the people of these islands to fight for full self-government.

Elections on the territory were held on April 21, 1965, and discussion on the draft constitution took place between May 10 and 19, 1965. The first meeting of the Cook Islands Legislature reaffirmed its adherence to the principle of full internal self-government and recommended certain amendments to the draft constitution, which, after being enacted by the New Zealand parliament, was approved by the Cook Islands Legislature and a self-governing territory in free association with the New Zealand came into being on August 4, 1965<sup>158</sup>. The Cook Islanders reserve their right to move to a status of complete independence<sup>159</sup>. They have full control over their internal affairs and their future. The people of the territory are New Zealand's citizens. The Island's Premier Sir Albert Henry said: "The people of our nation retain the right to regard New Zealand as their own country even while they enjoy the benefits of self-government within the Cook Islands"<sup>160</sup>.

Four of the Northern Cook Islands (Danger Atoll, Manahiki Atoll, Penrhyn Atoll and Rakahanga Atoll) are claimed by both the United States and New Zealand. The dispute between the two over these four islands is still unresolved.<sup>161</sup>

### (13) NIUE ISLAND

Niue is a coral island situated 480 km. east of Tonga, covering an area of 259 sq. km. Due to insufficient resources, the islanders migrated to New Zealand and, as a result, its population declined from 5,194 in 1966 to 2,531 in 1986.

The island was first visited by Capt. James Cook in 1774. In 1900, it was declared a British protectorate. In 1901, it was annexed to New Zealand. The local people were unable "to express their wishes through well-established democratic processes"<sup>162</sup>.

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157. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 45, p. 21.

158. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 744.

159. YUN, 1965, Vol. 19, n. 20, p. 573.

160. PIM, Vol. 46, No. 6, June, 1975, n. 9.

161. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 12, December, 1977, p. 19.

162. The United Nations and Decolonization: Summary, n.41, p. 55.

The spark of independence flared by the NAM aroused the people of the territory who started demanding freedom and dismantling of military bases of New Zealand in Niue. New Zealand crushed the national movement for independence and ignored UN resolutions relating to the territory. However, the people's agitation forced the Colonial Power to agree to an election. In 1969, an Executive Committee took over responsibility for those government departments which were previously controlled by the Resident Commissioner<sup>163</sup> of New Zealand. In 1970, the principle of "one man one vote" came into force. The territory reached "the stage of a decisive act of self-determination"<sup>164</sup>. The Niue Amendment Act, 1971, provided for the appointment of a Niuean as President of the territory's Legislative Assembly, on the lines of the democratic principles enunciated by the Non-aligned Movement.

In 1972, the people, with an overwhelming majority, expressed their desire for "full internal self-government, wishing to retain their Niuean identity"<sup>165</sup>, while some of the islanders expressed their wish for continued relationship with New Zealand retaining New Zealand citizenship for economic benefits. In September, 1974, through a referendum, the people by a substantial majority, voted "in favour of self-government in free association with the New Zealand"<sup>166</sup>. This referendum was considered a farce<sup>167</sup>, since the Niue Islanders living in New Zealand and Australia, who outnumber those on their own land, had no right to vote in it. The referendum provided that the Niue Assembly would make laws for the island and the New Zealand Parliament could only legislate on issues relating to the territory only on request from the Niue Assembly.

Niue Island is still a protectorate of New Zealand and New Zealand is constitutionally responsible for "Niue's defence and external affairs" besides giving it budgetary support and developmental assistance.

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163. YUN, 1969, Vol. 23, n. 20, p. 669.

164. Ibid., 1970, Vol. 24, p. 728.

165. Ibid., 1972, Vol. 26, p. 573.

166. PIM, Vol. 45, No. 10, October, 1974, p. 7; see also The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 779.

167. PIM, Ibid.

(14) WESTERN SAMOA

Western Samoa comprises two large islands Savai'i and Upolu) and seven small ones, five of which are uninhabited. Its total area is 2,831 sq. km. It lies 2,400 km. north of New Zealand, with a population of 158,940 in 1981. 72% of its people live on Upolu. Its capital is Apia.

The islands were first visited by the Europeans in 1700. In 1904, the British ceded the eastern islands (now American Samoa) the United States. In 1914, New Zealand occupied the Western Samoa and the League of Nations granted it "a mandate over the territory" in 1920.<sup>168</sup> In 1946, the United Nations declared it a Trust Territory and New Zealand assumed this responsibility through a Trusteeship Council. Western Samoans had "an aiga system, or extended family group", headed by a matai, chosen by consent of the aiga members<sup>169</sup>".

A number of meetings of the NAM took up for consideration the actual status of the colony and the Samoans started demanding greater control over their affairs. As a result, a cabinet system of government and a legislative assembly were set up in pursuance of the Samoa Amendment Act, 1959. A Working Committee on self-government was "established to consider the constitutional problems involved in the transition to independence"<sup>170</sup>. In September, 1960, the Constitutional Convention considered a draft constitution, submitted by the Working Committee, and on October 28, 1960, agreed upon a final constitution. A plebiscite took place on May 9, 1961, through which the people of territory were asked either to vote in favour of the constitution or for independence. While 83% of the people voted in favour of the constitution, 79% voted "in favour of the independence of Western Samoa"<sup>171</sup>.

Western Samoa became a sovereign state<sup>172</sup> on January 1, 1962, when the Trusteeship Agreement ceased to be in force.

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168. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 821.

169. Everyman's United Nations, n. 29, p. 370.

170. Everyman's United Nations, n. 28, p. 377.

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid.; see also YUN, 1960, Vol. 14, n. 20, p. 496.

(15) TIMOR ISLANDS

Portugal claimed the islands as overseas provinces of metropolitan Portugal but the majority of the indigenous inhabitants did not have the same civil and political rights as the inhabitants of Portugal and were "subjected to forced labour practices"<sup>173</sup>. Further, the people realised that "the reforms which Portugal claimed to have introduced since 1961 not only did not meet the basic aspirations of the people"<sup>174</sup>, but had not brought about any changes in their political, economic, social or educational conditions. In 1962, Portugal refused to grant independence to the territory. Its people had to face insecurity of life, suppression by force of arms, denial of fundamental rights, discriminatory practices and complete disregard for their legitimate aspirations. Under the pressure of the people's struggle for self-government, Legislative Councils were established in the territory for the first time in 1964.<sup>175</sup>

Owing to the NAM's anti-colonial stance, the Portuguese Government were compelled to agree to a referendum and proposed that "a People's Representative Council should either ratify the decision of the people for complete integration with Indonesia or formulate other suggestions"<sup>176</sup>. However, the forces of FRETILIN occupied the city of Dili, jailed, tortured, murdered and eliminated its opponents (supporters of the National Front) and those who could escape took shelter in Indonesia. On November 28, 1975, the FRETILIN regime proclaimed the independence of the territory.

Indonesia expressed willingness to welcome Timor as its integral part if its people decided integration with Indonesia. Australia accepted this proposal provided that the "decision was based on well-prepared process of self-determination"<sup>177</sup>. Indonesia proclaimed the Establishment of a Provisional Government of the Territory of East Timor" on December 17, 1975. In 1976, Indonesia sent its armed forces to the

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173. Everyman's United Nations, n. 28, p. 410.

174. Ibid.

175. UN "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples", 1960.

176. YUN, 1976, Vol. 30, n. 20, p. 728.

177. Ibid., 1975, Vol. 29, p. 855.

territory and refused to comply with the UN resolution to withdraw them, on the ground that "the people of East Timor had exercised their right ... for integration with Indonesia"<sup>178</sup>. Indonesia's stand was supported by Bangladesh, India, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Surinam and Thailand. Barbados, Ghana, Haiti, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe called on Indonesia to withdraw its forces and allow the people of Timor Islands to freely exercise the right of self-determination and independence. The Colombo NAM Summit Conference<sup>179</sup> (1976), the New Delhi NAM Ministerial Meeting<sup>180</sup> (1977) and the Havana NAM Summit Conference<sup>181</sup> (1979) reaffirmed the right of the people of Timor for self-determination

However, the UN General Assembly declared that the people of the territory "must be enabled freely to determine their own future within the framework of the United Nations" and urged all concerned to implement its resolution 1514 (XV) which Indonesia totally and categorically refused to<sup>182</sup> do.

East Timor is still a Portuguese colony and is on the list of the UN Special Committee of 24 for further consideration.

#### (16) IRIAN JAYA

West Jaya is the western part of Papua (formerly Dutch New Guinea or West New Guinea), which was a colony of the Netherlands up to April, 1963. Under the Act of Free Choice, Indonesia annexed it as its seventeenth province on May 1, 1963, against the wishes of the West Papuans.

In 1962, a delegation from the then New Guinea Council visited several African countries "seeking support for their resistance to Indonesian plans to annex their country"<sup>183</sup>. In 1975, the African member-nations of the NAM supported the motion tabled by Ghana in the United Nations for giving an opportunity to the West Papuans "to express

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178. Ibid., 1979, Vol. 33, p. 1039.

179. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 45, p. 193.

180. Ibid., p. 255.

181. Ibid., n. 418.

182. YUN, 1980, Vol. 34, n. 20, p. 1082.

183. PIM, Vol. 47, No. 5, May, 1976, p. 9.



themselves about their country's future<sup>184</sup>", but it was lost.

When Indonesia occupied the Dutch New Guinea in 1963, large scale clashes took place between the freedom fighters and the Indonesian soldiers. The Papuan resistance forces formed a 12-member Revolutionary Provisional Government of the Republic of West Papua at Dakar, capital of the West African state of Senegal. The Papuan rebels established their camps on the border of Timor with the Papua New Guinea. From the bases on the PNG side they attacked Indonesian troops. To internationalise their demand for independence, the West Papuans established centres in Doetinchem (Holland) and Port Moresby (PNG). The NAM extended great help to them.

On August 16, 1969, addressing the Jakarta House of Representatives, President Suharto promised to the "backward brothers" of Timor to raise their standard of living "to a level comparable to that of their brothers in the other regions of Indonesia<sup>185</sup>".

Under the inspiration of NAM, there were a number of revolutionary uprisings for the liberation of Irian Jaya. To pacify the people, President Suharto toured Jayapura on September 16, 1969, and established West Irian as an autonomous province with a deconcentralisation of the powers of the central government in Jakarta.

In 1975, the Papua Liberation Movement split into several camps, two chief segments of which were the National Liberation Council (NLC) and the Front National Papua (FNP). The former wanted to operate through international organizations<sup>186</sup> and the latter wanted a government in exile. On February 23, 1976, the West Irianese Committee, set up in 1974 in Port Moresby, warned the PNG government that they would seek Communist help for their cause "if PNG continued to cold-shoulder the West Irian freedom fighters". The PNG Foreign Minister said that to seek Communist help would be a "breach of the agreement which allowed them permissive occupancy in Papua New Guinea" and refused to allow the use of PNG soil for such political activities. The US State Department refused to apply sanction against Indonesia as a measure of support for

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184. Ibid.

185. Ibid., p. 8.

186. Ibid., p. 10.

the cause of Papuans. In April, 1977, Nicholas Jouwa, the self-styled Premier of the Provincial Revolutionary Government of West Papua, threatened to launch "Arab style terrorism" against the United States, Australia, New Zealand and other nations of South Pacific, excluding Papua New Guinea.

The NAM support to independence movement encouraged the West Irians. Pro-independence groups of Timor, known as Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM) alleged that Australia was helping Indonesia in its drive against them. The Geneva-based Anti-Slavery Society claimed in August, 1983, that Indonesians had murdered as many as 200,000 West Papuans since its annexation of the territory in 1962, and were abusing human rights. The Society called on the United Nations to initiate an independent enquiry in the matter. The OPM forces, amalgamated under the leadership of James Nyaro, the self-styled President of West Papua and illegal arms started flowing to the rebels to support the establishment of an independent state of Irian Jaya. The revolutionaries raised the West Papua flag in Jayapura, which refuted the Indonesian claim that they had the support of the majority of the population of the territory. The PNG people have been urging upon their government to assist the Irian Jayans in their struggle for independence and to pursue the matter in the United Nations and other international forums, in consonance with the objectives of the Non-aligned Movement.

However, Irian Jaya is still struggling for independence.

#### (17) BANABA (OCEAN) ISLANDS

Britain took over the Ocean Island and held its flag-raising ceremony on September 28, 1901. During the First World War, Britain annexed it to its Gilbert colony. In 1947, some people of the Ocean Island were settled by the British on the Rabi Island in the Fiji Group.

Though there were rich mineral deposits (worth about \$ 60 million) on the territory, the Banabans "having nothing" lived on "unripe breadfruit and boiled bananas", while the British Phosphate Commissioners,

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187. Ibid., Vol. 48, No.6, June, 1977, p. 15.

188. Ibid., Vol. 54, No.9, September, 1983, p. 5.

189. Ibid., Vol. 55, No. 5, May, 1984, p. 14.

190. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 4, April, 1977, p. 31.

191. Ibid., Vol. 46, No.4, April, 1975, p. 3.

who represented Britain, Australia and New Zealand "reaped handsome economic benefits" from the phosphate mines. The Banabans were treated like primitive savages by Britain.

Encouraged by the NAM, the Banabans demanded their independence from the GEIC. They agitated for this in vain. Ultimately, they had fight for their freedom. Members of the United Nations Committee of 24 rejected request of the Banabans to support their cause, with the plea that "UN's encouragement of the Banabans is tantamount to meddling in what they rightfully consider an internal affair of the territory of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands<sup>192</sup>".

The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) strengthened the forces for emancipation and progress throughout the world and opened "the way to a complete liberation for all mankind<sup>193</sup>". In March, 1975, to counter the Banaban independence move in the United Nations, the GEIC Government claimed that "Ocean Island was an integral part of the colony and that the Gilbertese and the Banabans were the same people<sup>194</sup>". The Government officials alleged that "the Banaban claim for sovereignty was a family matter". The Banabans rejected the GEIC claim. They said that the Micronesian settlement took place more than 3,000 years ago and the Banabans had been independent for centuries.

The NAM anti-colonialism move has made the Banabans more conscious of their rights and even some eminent British statesmen came out in their support. Banabans filed a suit in a London Court claiming suitable compensation from Britain for the exploitation of their phosphate and "for damages from the British Government for its alleged betrayal of the duty it owed to the Banabans as their trustee<sup>195</sup>". They also condemned Britain for payment of conscience money.

The Banabans wanted to use the rich natural resources of the Ocean Island themselves. Justice Megarry observed that, for this reason, the Banabans had good reason to be uneasy. Questioning the Island's constitutional status, he urged the British government to grant

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192. London Times (London), February 20, 1975.

193. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 45, p. 93.

194. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 762.

195. PIM, Vol. 48, No. 4, April, 1977, p. 30.

independence to the territory. The British Government announced that "sovereignty over Ocean Island shall pass to the Gilbertese when the Gilbert Islands Colony becomes fully independent<sup>196</sup>". Gilbert Islands became independent in 1979, and the administration of Banaba passed on to them.

Banabans refused to accept the Gilbertese claim that Ocean Island belonged to them. The 3,000 Banaban population of the island believes that their Ocean Island was never "part of the Gilberts until Britain made it so and Britain had no right to do<sup>197</sup> it". The British Government appointed Richard Posnett for a fact-finding visit. The Rabi Island Council of Leaders demanded that fact-finding job should be entrusted to the United Nations in the interest of an impartial enquiry.

However, Banaba is still part of GEIC.

#### (18) FIJI ISLANDS

The Fiji group of Islands comprises four main islands - Viti Levu, Vanua Levu, Tavenui and Kadavu. Besides these, there are numerous smaller islands, atolls and reefs, numbering about 400, of which only 100 are inhabited. The total population of the territory was 715,375 in 1986, of which 48% were Indians and 46.1% were Fijians. The capital of Fiji is Suva.

Fiji was first visited by a European, Abel Tasman, in 1643. It became a British possession in 1874. The NAM declarations at Belgrade (1961) inspired the Fijian West Democratic Party to demand transfer of all powers to the people of Fiji, to immediately repeal all discriminatory laws and to establish an unqualified system of democratic representation based on the principle of "one man, one vote" in the territory. As a result, in April, 1963, a constitution was formulated, which, inter alia, provided for the establishment of an "Executive Council and a Legislative Council"<sup>198</sup>. Elections were held in the territory in 1963.

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196. Ibid., p. 30.

197. Ibid., p. 31.

198. The United Nations and Decolonization: Summary, n. 41, p. 51.

The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) intensified freedom movement in Fiji. The Fijians rose with a new zeal to achieve full freedom. In July, 1965, a constitutional conference was held in London, which promulgated a new constitution establishing a Legislative Council and an Executive Council, consisting principally of elected members. Most of the members continued to be elected on the basis of the three communal rolls, while some were elected under a new cross-voting system.

In 1969, Carlton, the Prime Minister of Australia said: "Very soon Britain is going to pull out of Fiji and leave its peoples to paddle their own canoe, if this transition to self-rule is not to be marred by communal strife between Fijians and Indians<sup>199</sup>". He was afraid that after the removal of British control, there would be political chaos and economic disaster due to a large immigrant population.

On May 5, 1970, a Constitutional Conference agreed on an interim solution on the first House of Representative to be elected after <sup>200</sup> independence. The Island of Fiji became independent on October 10, 1970, and joined the Commonwealth as a free Dominion. Fiji became a member of the United Nations on October 13, 1970.

In February, 1988, Rotuma, an island in the north-west of Suva, attempted to declare itself independent but the Government of Fiji crushed the rebellion.

#### (19) KIRIBATI (GILBERT) ISLANDS

Kiribati, comprising 33 atolls, is scattered over 3,789 km. east to west and 2,050 km. north to south. There are "16 Gilbert Islands, eight Phoenix Islands, eight Line Islands and Banaba<sup>201</sup>". The total population was 63,883 in 1985.

In 1892, 16 atolls of Gilbert Islands and nine Ellice Islands (now Tuvalu) became British protectorates, which were administered under the jurisdiction of the Western Pacific High Commission. The Commission was transferred from Fiji to Solomon Islands in 1953. In

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199. PIM, Vol. 40, No. 2, February, 1969, p. 31.

200. Mahesh Prasad Tandon and Rajesh Tandon, Public International Law (Allahabad: Allahabad Law Agency, 1971, 13th edn.), p. 106.

201. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 762.

1900, Ocean Island (now Banaba) was annexed to Gilbert Islands. In 1915, Gilbert and Ellice Islands (GEIC) were declared a British colony and Ocean Islands and two of the Line Islands were added to them. In 1919, Christmas Island (now Kiribati) and another of Line Islands were annexed to GEIC. In 1937, eight Phoenix Islands were also added to it.

During the Second World War, Japan captured the Gilbert Islands. There was a fierce battle between the United States and Japan at Tarawa Atoll. In 1961, the Belgrade NAM Summit Conference was held, which inspired the people of these islands to fight for independence. In 1963, the Government granted self-government to GEIC.

However, the political institutions and executive machinery were not fully representative of the people<sup>202</sup>. Under the influence of the NAM, the people of these Islands demanded self-determination and independence. To pacify the world opinion, the United Kingdom promulgated a constitution in 1967 in these territories, according to which general elections held on the basis of "universal adult suffrage"<sup>203</sup>. The representative government, to prevent "any form of discrimination on the basis of colour"<sup>204</sup>, revised the 1967 constitution. This, too, "fell short of goals"<sup>205</sup> of independence as the Administering Authority continued to "retain extensive executive as well as legislative authority"<sup>206</sup>.

In the GEIC's House of Representatives at Tarawa, there were often "shouts for independence" or shrill cries of "Britain get out"<sup>207</sup>. Gilbert and Ellice islanders were divided into racial parties. There were 44,000 Gilbertese of Micronesian extraction and 6,000 Ellice islanders of Polynesian extraction. The Ellice islanders held more government jobs at Tarawa than the Gilbertese. Naturally, the latter resented this. Moreover, the Ellice islanders were more politically conscious, concerned about the future of the colony and ambitious

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202. The United Nations and Decolonization: Summary, n. 41, n. 61.

203. Ibid.

204. YUN, 1969, Vol. 23, n. 20, p. 669.

205. Ibid., 1970, Vol. 24, p. 727.

206. Ibid., 1972, Vol. 26, p. 572.

207. PIM, Vol. 40, No. 2, February, 1969, n. 32.

than the Gilbertese who were concerned chiefly with fishing, dancing, drinking and were superstitious, being afraid of spirits and ghosts. The racial and social differences between the people of these two islands embarrassed the GEIC Government which tried "to unify the two groups of islanders"<sup>208</sup>.

In 1975, Ellice Islands seceded from GEIC and the remaining territory is known as Gilbert Islands. On July 14, 1976, talks held between the Governments of Gilbert Islands and Britain ended in granting the former full internal self-government<sup>209</sup> with effect from November 1, 1976. This achievement was chiefly due to support of the NAM to the liberation movements at the NAM Summit Conference held in Lusaka (1970), Algiers (1973) and Colombo (1976). Gilbert Islands achieved self-government on January 1, 1977, and independence on July 12, 1979, as the State of Kiribati, within the British Commonwealth.

Kiribati and the United States signed a treaty of friendship in September, 1979, and the latter "relinquished its claim to the Line and Phoenix Islands" including Kanton and Enderbury Islands<sup>210</sup>, in favour of the former.

#### (20) PITCARIN ISLANDS

Pitcarin Islands include the mainland and three other uninhabited islands - Henderson, Ducie and Oeno, with a total area of 4.5 sq. km. It is a British colony.

Till 1964, the political institutions and executive machinery were "not fully representative of the people"<sup>211</sup>. Their small size, remoteness and limited resources were the causes of delay in their gaining the right of self-determination.

The Belgrade and Cairo NAM Summit Conferences held in 1961 and 1964 respectively denounced the "attitude of those Powers which oppose the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination"<sup>212</sup> and called

208. Ibid., p. 33.

209. YUN, 1976, Vol. 30, n. 20, p. 722.

210. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 762.

211. The United Nations and Decolonization: Summary, n.41, p. 61.

212. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 45, p. 20.

upon its members to extend political, moral and material assistance to the liberation movements which infused a new spirit into the hearts of the freedom fighters. The people of Pitcarin demanded transfer of executive responsibilities and more powers to the elected representatives of the people<sup>213</sup>, while the British policy was "to preserve the island's community life for as long as the people wished to remain, until or unless change became inevitable"<sup>214</sup>.

Owing to growing influence of the NAM and people's agitations, the Administering Power agreed "to discuss any change of constitutional status with the people of the territory"<sup>215</sup> whenever they so desired.

The territory is still a British Crown colony.

#### (21) SOLOMON ISLANDS

The Solomon Islands is a Melanesian archipelago covering a land area of about 27,556 sq.km. to the east of Papua New Guinea. The country includes "most of the Solomon Islands, Ontong Java Islands (Lord Howe Atoll), Rennell Island and the Santa Cruz Islands"<sup>216</sup>. There are 21 large islands and numerous small ones. At the 1986 census, their population was 285,796. The capital of the country is Honiara on the island of Guadalcanal.

Europeans first discovered the Islands in the eighteenth century. The northern Solomon Islands became a German protectorate in 1885, and the southern Solomons a British protectorate in 1893. Japan invaded the islands in 1942, but the United States recaptured them in 1943. During the period from 1945 to 1966, elected local councils were established on most of the islands.

The NAM conferences and its leaders strongly supported the colonial people asserting their right of self-determination and encouraged anti-colonial struggles. Inspired by the NAM, the people of the Solomon Islands demanded more and more powers for themselves, including the transfer of executive responsibilities to their elected representatives.

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213. YUN, 1969, Vol. 23, n. 20, p. 668.

214. Ibid., 1978, Vol. 32, p. 865.

215. Ibid., 1980, Vol. 35, p. 1084.

216. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 800.



They demonstrated against the High Commissioner who exercised extensive control over them.<sup>217</sup> The British Government declared that the territory would achieve internal self-government on November 1, 1975, and "subject to parliamentary approval, independence should follow within 12 to 18 months"<sup>218</sup> of this date. The country actually achieved internal self-government<sup>219</sup> on January 2, 1976.

The Solomon Islands was educationally backward and 90% of the population did not know anything about a republican system of government. It was NAM which aroused the people of the country. As a result, they began to oppose the foreign rule. Internal self-government did not satisfy them. The British Solomon Islands became independent<sup>220</sup> on July 7, 1978, and are now known as Solomon Islands.

## (22) TONGA ISLANDS

Tonga, comprising 172 islands and covering a land area of 748 sq. km. is situated about 650 km. east of Fiji in two lines. Those to the west are volcanic and the ones to the east are coral islands. Only 36 of these islands are inhabited. They are divided into three groups - Vava'u in the north, Ha'apal and Tongatapu in the south.<sup>221</sup>

The Kingdom of Tonga adopted its first constitution in 1875 and came under British protection in 1900. Queen Salote Tupou III came to the throne in 1918, and ruled until December, 1965. She was succeeded by her son Prince Tupouto'a Tungi who took the title of King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV. In 1958, the United Kingdom appointed a British Chief Commissioner for Tonga.

In May, 1976, a Wellington based Soviet Ambassador, Cleg Selyaninov, visited Tonga and stayed there for four days. His visit "created a lot of attention elsewhere, particularly in the United States"<sup>222</sup>. The Ambassador promised support to King Taufa'ahau Tupou in the fields of scientific research, trade, fishing and canning and enlarging of the airport near Nukualofa.

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217. YUN, 1971, Vol. 25, n. 20, p. 4 539.

218. Ibid., 1975, Vol. 29, p. 798.

219. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 800.

220. YUN, 1978, Vol. 32, n. 20, p. 858.

221. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 807.

222. PIM, Vol. 47, No.6, June, 1976, p. 14.

Tonga is an independent kingdom<sup>223</sup> and a member of the United Nations. In November, 1977, the King visited the Republic of China (Taiwan) and recognised its regime. Tonga is a member of the South Pacific Forum and is one of the few countries which have not joined the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty. In July, 1988, Tonga signed a treaty with the United States and allowed "the safe transit<sup>224</sup> of US nuclear-capable ships within Tongan waters".

(23) TUVALU (ELLICE) ISLANDS

Tuvalu is a scattered group of nine small atolls covering an area of 26 sq. km. Its population was 8,229 in 1985. Its capital is on Funafuti atoll.

Tuvalu, formerly known as the Ellice or Lagoon Islands, was placed under British protection in 1892, and was linked with Gilbert Islands in 1916.

Like the people of the Gilbert Islands, the people of Ellice, one of the tiniest of island nations, were also inspired by the NAM conferences. To expedite their independence, a Constitutional Conference was held on March 13, 1975, at Tarawa to devise a formula for separating the Ellice Islands from the Gilberts and forming the territory of Tuvalu. The Gilbertese raised no objection to the "Ellice people's decision to seek separate status under Britain while the Gilberts go independent"<sup>225</sup>. In fact, they were glad as the Tuvaluans would have been an economic liability to them. As recommended by the conference, the Tuvalu Order of September 17, 1975, provided for a separate constitution for the nine Ellice Islands. In a referendum, the people voted overwhelmingly for the new status as they believed that they would otherwise be dominated by the Gilbertese who outnumbered them by seven to one. However, separation was "achieved with great goodwill"<sup>226</sup> and amidst festivities.

The Ellice Islands separated from GEIC and became a distinct colony on October 1, 1975, and the territory is known as Tuvalu, with

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223. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 12, December, 1977, p. 27.

224. The Far East and Australasia, n.25, p. 807.

225. PIM, Vol. 46, No. 4, April, 1975, p. 6.

226. Ibid., Vol. 47, No. 2, February, 1976, p. 17.

its headquarters at Funafuti. However, its joint administration with GEIC continued till January 1, 1976. In May, 1977, the eight elected members of the Tuvaluan House of Assembly toured all the nine islands to ascertain the opinion of men, women and children on whether they wanted a republic or a monorchie system i.e. a President or a British Governor-General. They voted in favour of retaining the Queen as Head of State, with a Tuvaluan Governor-General.<sup>227</sup>

General elections were held in the 60-year old Crown colony in August, 1977, which resulted in its achieving independence on October 1, 1978.<sup>228</sup>

#### (24) AMERICAN SAMOA

American Samoa comprises seven islands - Tutuila, Ta'u, Olosega, Ofu, Aunu'u, Rose and Swain (Olosenga) lying about 3,700 km. south-west of Hawaii and covering a land area of 194.8 sq. km. with a population of 36,000 (1986). Its capital is Pago Pago.

First of all the Europeans visited the island in the eighteenth century. In 1872, the Kingdom of Samoa, then an independent state, ceded the harbour of Pago Pago to the United States. In 1899, followed by an internal strife between the rival chiefs, kingship was abolished in the country. Its western part became a German colony while its eastern part, known as American Samoa, came under the control of the United States.<sup>229</sup>

In 1964, American Samoa (including Wake and Midway islands) was "far from self-government and independence" and its people were unable "to express fully their wishes with regard to their future status".<sup>230</sup> Inspired by the NAM declarations and resolutions, the local people of the territory decided to take the reign of their land in their own hands and demanded greater executive authority.<sup>231</sup> The Administering Authority introduced constitutional changes which were insufficient to enable the people of the country to shape their future

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227. Ibid., Vol. 48, No. 6, June, 1977, p. 13.

228. YUN, 1977, Vol. 31, n. 20, pp. 878-79.

229. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 735.

230. The United Nations and Decolonization: Summary, n. 41, p. 58.

231. YUN, 1967, Vol. 21, n. 20, p. 685.

Exercising full control over the islands, the United States established military bases there which created hindrances in the path of their decolonization.<sup>232</sup> However, in 1973, a referendum was conducted over the proposals of a Constitutional Revision Committee. The majority of people voted for self-government. In 1976, the people elected their own Governor and members of both houses of their legislature and<sup>233</sup> achieved full self-government. It became member of the UN in 1976.

The United States sent Rex Lee as the last Washington-appointed Governor, an able administrator, who "could rally the people of American Samoa around the US flag, so that there is no danger of breaking away from the United States".<sup>234</sup> However, the people inspired by the NAM, continued to struggle for independence. As a result, a constitution was drafted in 1986 to grant self-governing status to the territory, but it has yet to be ratified by the US Congress.<sup>235</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

The Pacific Ocean comprises a third of the earth's surface. It contains thousands of islands, which were being ruled by one colonial power or another. Inspired by the proclamations of the NAM, the people of these islands began to demand self-determination and freedom. The former dependent states, which have now achieved independence are Western Samoa (from New Zealand on January 1, 1962), Nauru (from the UK and Australia on January 31, 1968), Tonga (from UK in 1970), Fiji (from UK on October 10, 1970), Papua New Guinea (from Australia on September 16, 1975), Tuvalu (from UK on October 1, 1978), Solomon Islands (from UK on July 7, 1978), Kirabati (from UK on July 12, 1979), Banaba (from UK in 1979), Vanuatu (from UK and France on July 30, 1980) and Timor (from Portugal on November 28, 1975). Tonga is an independent Kingdom. Hawaii and Irian Jaya are provinces of USA and Indonesia respectively.

The states, which are still wholly or partially governed by colonial powers are: Pitcarin (by UK), Wallis and Futune (by France) and Easter (by Chile).

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232. Ibid., 1969, Vol. 23, p. 670.

233. Ibid., 1973, Vol. 27, p. 704.

234. PIM, Vol. 48, No.10, October, 1977, p. 10.

235. The Far East and Australasia, n. 25, p. 738.

The states which have achieved self-governing status are:  
Tokelau, Cook, Niue, Norfolk, French Polynesia, New Caledonia,  
Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall, Mariana, Palau, Guam and  
American Samoa.

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## CHAPTER IX

### NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN THE ATLANTIC AND INDIAN OCEAN ISLANDS

#### (A) ATLANTIC OCEAN ISLANDS

##### (1) ST. HELENA

St. Helena is situated in the North Atlantic Ocean about 1,930 km. from the south-west coast of Africa. Governed by the British East India Company from 1673, the Island became a British Crown colony in 1833. The present constitution came into force on January 1, 1967, which provided for a Legislative Council. St. Helena Progressive Party, founded in 1973, and St. Helena Labour Party, founded in 1975, contested the elections held in September, 1976. St. Helena Progressive Party "advocating the retention of close economic links with the United Kingdom, gained 11 of the 12 elective seats<sup>2</sup>".

The territory is still a British colony and is on the list of the United Nations for further consideration. But as political parties have been inactive in the territory since 1976, there is no demand for independence.

##### (2) FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS)

Malvinas consists of two main islands - East Falkland and West Falkland. There are about 200 islands which are administered as parts of the colony. Its total area is 4,618 sq. miles and its population, which is entirely of British descent, was 2,230 in 1953.

The Argentinians call it "Islas Malvinas<sup>3</sup>". During the colonial period, both Spain and Britain established colonies in this territory. Argentina became independent on July 9, 1816. It claimed the inheritance of the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands and tried to establish a colony on them after 1820. In 1831, the Islands Argentinian inhabitants were dispersed by the United States as Argentina had detained a US

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1. The Europa Year Book, 1988: A World Survey (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1989), Vol.I, p. 2888.

2. Ibid.

3. Preston E. James, Latin America (London: Cassell, 3rd edn., 1959), p. 857.

whaling ship in January, 1833. The United Kingdom sent a warship which occupied the Falkland Islands holding that "according to international law, the actual use and occupation of a territory prevails over theoretical claims<sup>4</sup>". Thus, British sovereignty was established over the country. Chile also claimed the territory between 53°W and 90°W . However, there was a truce between the three which has been renewed from time to time, according to which they agreed not to move warships south of 60° latitude<sup>5</sup>.

In March, 1962, Britain established a separate colony of British Antarctic Territory, "comprising part of the former territory of the Falkland Islands dependencies"<sup>6</sup>. The dependencies were the Islands of South Georgia and South Sandwich, which have been a separate territory since 1908. In 1966, the people, nearly all British by descent, expressed their desire to remain under British sovereignty<sup>7</sup>. Argentina claims that the Islands were once part of Spanish colony, which had come under the dominion of Argentina in 1810, but were later occupied by the United Kingdom in 1833. The British Government asserts that she has sovereignty over it. In June, 1971, Britain and Argentina agreed "to exchange views on these matters"<sup>8</sup>.

The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) strongly supported the claim of Argentine Republic and urged the United Kingdom "to actively pursue the negotiations recommended by the United Nations for the purpose of restoring that territory to Argentine sovereignty"<sup>9</sup>.

In 1982, there was a clash between the Argentine and British forces. Britain granted full British citizenship to the islanders in

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4. Ibid., p. 858.

5. S. Hasan Ahmad, 'The Fourth Committee and the Cases of Some Disputed Territories Under Chapter XI', The Indian Journal of Politics, Vol. III, No.1 & 2, January-December, 1969, pp. 143-61.

6. The Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1974), Vol. 9, pp. 48-49.

7. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. II, p. 2860.

8. The Yearbook of the United Nations (New York: UN, Department of Public Information), 1971, Vol. 25, p. 536.

9. Two Decades of Non-Alignment: Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1983), p. 201.



the same year. On October 29, 1986, the United Kingdom claimed the territorial waters around the disputed islands to "150 nautical miles<sup>10</sup>". with the creation of the Falkland Islands Interim Conservation and Management Zone<sup>11</sup> (FICZ). In March, 1987, the British military manoeuvres involved "transportation of British troops to the islands<sup>12</sup>". On November 17, 1987, the UN General Assembly called for negotiations for a peaceful solution to the Falkland dispute<sup>13</sup>.

The British military manoeuvres (called Operation Fire Focus) were described as a "downright offensive<sup>14</sup>" by Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and other Latin American countries. At the UN Security Council meeting held on March 17, 1988, the Argentine Foreign Minister described the manoeuvres as a serious threat<sup>15</sup> both to international peace and to Argentine security. The Security Council observed that the British aimed at consolidating its colonial domination of the islands and that Argentina was talking about a "handover date" helplessly<sup>16</sup>.

On July 13, 1988, the United Kingdom appointed William Fullerton as Governor of the Islands and asserted its claim over the territory.

## (B) INDIAN OCEAN ISLANDS

### (1) COMORO ISLANDS

The Comoro Archipelago is situated at the entrance to the Mozambique Channel and between Madagascar and the Tanzanian coast. Hence, it occupies a strategic position. The principal islands of this group are Njazida (formerly Grand-Comoro), Nzwani (formerly Anjouan), Mwali (formerly Moheli) and Mahore (formerly Myotte). The French

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10. "278 km. offshore, as well as a garrison of about 4,000 troops", see The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol.II, p. 2860.

11. Keesing's Contemporary Archives : Record of World Events(London: Longman's Group Limited), Vol. XXXIV, March, 1988, p. 35766.

12. Ibid., October, 1988, p. 36207.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p. 35809; see also The Europa Year Book, n.1, Vo..II, p.2861.

16. Keesing's, n. 11, October, 1988, p. 36207.

occupied Mayotte in 1843, and the other islands between 1866 and 1909. In 1912, they were joined with Madagascar.

For the purpose of retaining their military bases in the region, the French separated the Comoros from Madagascar after the Second World War. Influenced by the declarations of the NAM leaders during the 1950s, the people of the territory demanded self-government. As a result, the French granted some internal autonomy<sup>17</sup> to it in 1961. A political party, the Movement for the National Liberation of the Comoros (MOLINACO), founded in 1962, was sought to be suppressed by the French, and was forced to go underground<sup>18</sup>. It was revived under the name of the Evolution Party. Along with other nationalist parties—the People's Democratic Grouping, the Democratic Union, the Socialist Party, the Evolution Party demanded complete independence. To counter this demand, the French encouraged the formation of a French organisation called the Party of Unity and Independence for the Comoros.

The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) considered it "urgent to put an end to the colonial presence"<sup>19</sup> in Comoros. It declared that in spite of the tactics of the French and the English, the people of Comoro Islands were marching towards freedom, exposing the strategy of colonial powers in the Indian Ocean<sup>20</sup>.

Inspired by the NAM, the Evolution Party and the Socialist Party came together to form the United National Front. A plebiscite, held in 1974, demonstrated that "the overwhelming majority of the islanders wanted the complete independence of the Comoros"<sup>21</sup>. A meeting of the NAM Coordinating Bureau held at Algiers in 1975 called for the acceleration of the process of the total decolonization of the Comoros Islands<sup>22</sup>. The French conducted a referendum again in three islands (excluding Mayotte) in which the people again voted in favour of complete

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17. Ivo Dvorak, The Non-Aligned Countries (London: Harney and Jones Limited, 1982), p. 140.

18. Ibid.

19. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 9, p. 95.

20. Ibid., p. 109.

21. Ivo Dvorak, n. 17, p. 141.

22. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 9, p. 132.

independence. The French then adopted a neo-colonialist policy. With their encouragement, Ahmed Abdallah, who was a tool in their hands and had been installed as the President of the Comoro Government Council in 1972 with the support of the pro-French Party for the Unity and Independence of the Comoros (PUIC) Abdallah unilaterally proclaimed the independence of Grand-Comoro, Anjouan and Moheli and established his government on July 6, 1975.

The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) welcomed the independence of Comoros<sup>23</sup> ignorant of the fact that this was part of the French plan to continue its control over the territory indirectly, and that Abdallah was "neither the forger nor the true defender"<sup>24</sup> of independence. He had declared: "I am telling the foreigners that they can still feel at home here"<sup>25</sup> (i.e. in Comoros). The French transferred all their troops and military equipment to Mayotte and, thus, the Comoro Islands were dismembered. Very soon Abdallah was overthrown.

In 1975, the French Prime Minister claimed that Comoros Islands had opted for independence, and friendship and cooperation with France and that France had "probably done more than any other country for the emancipation of peoples and to respect their dignity"<sup>26</sup>. The statement was, in fact, to somehow defend its colonialist policy in the face of opposition to colonialism and neo-colonialism by the NAM countries.

However, the people of the Comoro Islands are still struggling for their freedom.

## (2) MADAGASCAR (MALAGASY)

Madagascar has in its adjoining area many small islands, including Mossi-Be, Santa Maria, Bassas da India, Europa and Juan de Nova. A Portuguese explorer, Diego Diaz, reached Madagascar on August 10, 1500, and named it St. Lawrence Island. Later the Dutch and the French competed for establishing their colony on the island. In 1885, France

23. Ibid., p. 144.

24. Ivo Dvorak, n. 17, p. 142.

25. Ibid.

26. Pacific Islands Monthly (Sydney), Vol.46, No.6, June, 1975, p.2. (Henceforth PIM).

occupied it by force and declared it a French protectorate. In 1896, a rebellion started on the island resulted in the killing of 700,000 people<sup>27</sup> within a span of twenty years. Liberation forces, which emerged again in 1916 and 1929 were also crushed in a cruel manner.

The various conferences and meetings held by the leaders of newly independent countries and founders of the NAM, gave new zeal to the people of Madagascar and France was forced to grant semi-autonomy to the island in 1957, the status of autonomous republic within the French community<sup>28</sup> in 1958, and finally independence on June 26-27, 1960.

The government formed after the liberation of Madagascar, was headed by Philbert Tsiranana, the leader of the Socialist Democratic Party, who followed a pro-French policy and oppressed the people. Thus, the Republic became a vassal state of French neo-colonialism. Tsiranana's relations with South Africa, Rhodesia, Portugal, Israel and the United States caused a revolt and the regime was overthrown in 1971 by Gabriel Ramanantsoa, who established relations with socialist countries like Soviet Union, Vietnam, Cambodia, Cuba and the PLO and with the independent nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The French troops left the Ivato air base.

In 1974, insurgents of the Mobile Police Group (GMP) attempted to overthrow Ramanantsoa. In this difficult situation, he transferred his powers to Col. R. Ratsimandrava, who nationalised more than 250 large private estates in 1975. In February, 1975, a member of the GMP assassinated Ratsimandrava with the support of the former President, Tsiranana, and some military officers.

The Havana NAM meeting (1975) welcomed "the proposition of Madagascar for holding a conference of coastal states and land-locked countries in the region, appealing to all countries not to grant facilities to warships of foreign powers"<sup>29</sup>. After a number of quick changes, Ratsiraka was elected President of the Island in December, 1975, and a Charter of the Malagasy Socialist Revolution was adopted. On December 30, 1975, the country was renamed the Malagasy Democratic Republic.

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27. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 437.

28. Ibid.

29. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 9, p. 136.

In 1976, President Ratsiraka declared that all the vital sectors of the national economy must be nationalized<sup>30</sup>. The colonialists attempted to overthrow him in 1978 and 1981, to end the country's socialist transformation and to restore capitalist order so as to continue their hold on the strategic islands.

The Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979) called for the reintegration of the Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassa de India islands which had been "arbitrarily separated in 1960 by decrees of the former metropolis"<sup>31</sup>. The NAM conferences and meetings held in 1983, 1984, 1985 and 1986 reaffirmed the paramount need to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic and strongly urged "all the parties concerned immediately to open negotiations pursuant to the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, the Movement of the Nonaligned Countries and the Organization of African Unity"<sup>32</sup>.

### (3) MAURITIUS

In 1947, a colonial Legislative Council was established in Mauritius. The Labour Party led by S. Ramgoulam, associated with the Indo-Mauritian majority stood in the forefront of independence struggle in the 1960s. Encouraged by the NAM Summit Conferences held at Belgrade (1961) and Cairo (1964), there were frequent upheavals, which made Arthur Greenwood, the British Secretary for Colonial Affairs, to announce in September, 1965, that Mauritius would become independent by the end of 1966. Prime Minister Ramgoulam, the head of the autonomous government demanded complete independence, but the owners of the large sugarcane plantations tried to resist the struggle for independence and sought some sort of British association with Britain. However, Mauritius became independent on March 12, 1968, after 253 years of colonial rule.

30. Ivo Dvorak, n. 17, p. 440.

31. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 9, p. 413.

32. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement: Documents of the Gatherings of the Nonaligned Countries, 1983-1986, Vol. II

(New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1986), p. 240; see also Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXXVI, No. 875, p. 50.

A few hours before declaration of independence, Ramgoulam signed a treaty of mutual defence and assistance with Britain. The treaty gave the right to the British to use their installations in Mauritius.

S. Ramgoulam participated in the Algiers NAM Summit Conference<sup>33</sup> (1973). The Mauritius Militant Movement, in cooperation with the Nonaligned countries, won 34 of the 70 seats of the parliamentary elections in 1976, but the Labour Party leader, Ramgoulam retained his post of Prime Minister because of his alliance with other parties. Mauritian government maintains very close ties with Pretoria. In 1980, Pretoria gave 145 million dollars to the government for purchase of Mauritian tea, which is of low quality, and to set up an "Operation Refinery" in association with a French firm.

### Diego Garcia

Diego Garcia is 22 sq. km. and the main island of the Chagos archipelago, which was occupied and attached to Mauritius by the British in the nineteenth century. It is the only inhabited island with a small population of Mauritian origin. When the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT) was formed, the island was separated from Mauritius. Between 1960 and 1962, the United States gave 14 million dollars to Britain for establishing air and naval bases in the area. The British Secretary of State, Arthur Greenwood, announced on November 10, 1965, the exclusion of the Chagos archipelago from Mauritian territory "in agreement with the governments of the Island of Mauritius and the Seychelles"<sup>34</sup>, which were both still colonies. On March 29, 1977, the Mauritian Foreign Minister admitted: "The base on Diego Garcia: Our independence was worth this price"<sup>35</sup>.

However, the NAM has launched a large scale campaign for return of the island of Diego Garcia to Mauritius. The Algiers NAM meeting (1974) held that "the Anglo-American base on the Island of Diego Garcia" was "in disregard of the express recommendations by the coastal and landlocked States of the Indian Ocean that this Ocean should be transformed into a zone of peace"<sup>36</sup> and that "Great Power rivalries in

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33. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 9, n. 120.

34. Ivo Dvorak, n. 17, p. 481.

35. Ibid.

36. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 9, n. 124.

the area, be gravely prejudicial to the cause of peace and to the vital interests of the developing nations in the area<sup>37</sup>". The meeting, condemning the expansion of US installations on the island, laid emphasis on the need of the implementation of the UN resolution for establishing a peace zone in the Indian Ocean and invited "all countries concerned to take concrete steps to expedite its implementation"<sup>38</sup>. The meeting regretted that the NATO powers were violating resolutions of the General Assembly and the resolutions of the Security Council in this connection<sup>39</sup>. The Lima NAM Conference (1975) observed that the air, naval and military presence of the Great Powers in Diego Garcia were being strengthened, which created rivalries and tensions endangering the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the States in that area<sup>40</sup>. It urged all states for a "joint action to guarantee the full observance of the principles of nonalignment"<sup>41</sup> and expressed its conviction that "continuous efforts are necessary to dissolve the military alliances conceived within the context of Great Power rivalry". The meeting called upon "all littoral and hinterland States belonging to multilateral military alliances conceived in the context of Great Power rivalry to withdraw from them as soon as possible"<sup>42</sup>. The Colombo NAM Conference (1976) urged upon the Great Powers to dismantle their military installations on Diego Garcia, saying that such a development "would lead to tension and conflict in the Indian Ocean through Great Power competition for naval superiority in the area"<sup>43</sup>. The Conference "condemned the existence of South African military bases in the area and the close military cooperation between the Pretoria regime, Israel and certain Western Powers in the region" and the "existence of the Simonstown and Silvermine bases as well as Project Advokaat whose objectives included surveillance over African national liberation movements"<sup>44</sup>. The New Delhi Conference (1977), Belgrade Conference (1978)

37. Ibid., p. 124.

38. Ibid., p. 136.

39. Ibid., p. 124.

40. Ibid., p. 150.

41. Ibid., p. 162.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., p. 202.

44. Ibid.

and Colombo meeting (1979) of NAM reiterated its earlier resolutions on the issue while the Harare NAM Summit Conference (1986) called for "early return of Diego Garcia to Mauritius"<sup>45</sup>.

#### (4) MAYOTTE (MAHORE)

The island of Mayotte is a part of Comoros archipelago. It lies between Madagascar and the east coast of the African mainland.

In 1843, the king of Comoros ceded all the Mayotte islands of the Comoros archipelago to France, which occupied Grand-Comoro, Aljouan and Moheli also and in 1912, joined the four islands to Madagascar. They were occupied by the British troops during 1940-44. After the Second World War, Comoros was separated from Madagascar. In 1961, Comoros was granted autonomous status within the French Union and after seven years internal self-government was conferred upon it by France.

The National Liberation of the Comoros (MOLINAC) which was founded in 1962, organised the Evolution Party. The People's Democratic Grouping, the Democratic Union, the Socialist Party and the Evolution Party demanded complete independence, while the stand of the Party for the Unity and Independence of the Comoros (PUIC) was pro-government.

In a plebiscite held on December 22, 1974, 95.50% of the Muslim population of Comoros, Aljouan and Moheli voted for independence, while 65% of the Catholic inhabitants voted in favour of ties with France. The colonial government claimed the right to maintain its military presence in the Indian Ocean. However, the Comoran Chamber of Deputies unilaterally proclaimed the independence of the four islands (Grand-Comoro, Aljouan, Moheli and Mayotte) on July 6, 1975<sup>46</sup>.

Comoros claims the island of Mayotte as its "national territory", while the people of Mayotte, in a referendum held in February and April, 1976, "preferred to retain links with France"<sup>47</sup>. Comoros represents Mayotte at international organizations and even in the United Nations.

The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) recognised Mayotte as

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45. Review of International Affairs, n. 32, n. 50.

46. The Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements (London: Taylor and Francis, 1985), n. 165.

47. Ibid. ,



an integral part of Comoros and demanded withdrawal of French troops from the island<sup>48</sup>. France began to block the import of basic products into Comoros. In March, 1977, President Soilih of Comoros demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Mahore, from where the colonialists were carrying on their provocative activities.

Since Mayotte had rejected the Comoros proposal to join it under a federal system and had, instead reaffirmed its links with France, in May, 1978, the French sent Calendestine Liberation Force dressed in plain clothes and fifty mercenaries led by Robert Denard of France and financed by France and the United States Intelligence agencies. Denard, under the guise of the Muslim name, Said Mustafa Mahjib, assassinated President Soilih.

The NAM continued to support the just aspirations of the people of the Comoros, who demanded respect for their territorial integrity and sovereignty, which was being violated by the French by their continued control of Mahore Island<sup>49</sup>. The New York NAM meeting (1984) called upon the Government of France to promptly terminate its occupation over the island<sup>50</sup>.

A referendum on the island's future, which was proposed to be held in 1984, was postponed indefinitely "despite UN several resolutions "reaffirming the sovereignty of the Comoros over the island<sup>51</sup> while MPM demanded "full departmental status for the island". In March, 1986, Jacques Chirac, the first French Prime Minister to visit Mayotte, assured its people that "they would remain French citizens for as long as they wished"<sup>52</sup>.

Reiterating its earlier decisions, the Harare NAM Summit Conference (1986) urged upon the French authorities to restore Mayotte to Comoros in accordance with the OAU resolution OM/PLEN/RES-1(XLIV)<sup>53</sup>.

However, Mayotte is still a French military base.

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48. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 9, p. 193.

49. Ivo Dvorak, n. 17, p. 143.

50. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 32, p. 115.

51. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1095.

52. Ibid.

53. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), n. 32, p. 50.

(5) REUNION

Reunion is an island situated between Madagascar and Mauritius islands, about 800 km. east of Madagascar. It is a volcanic island fringed by coral reefs. Reunion was a French colony from 1642 to 1946. Like the French Caribbean islands, it was also granted "full departmental status". In 1974, it became an "Overseas Department with the status of a region"<sup>54</sup>. Its capital is Saint-Denis.

Reunion is one of the four French Overseas Department - the other three being Martinique, Guadalupe and Guiana. Their administrative and social structure is almost identical to that of metropolitan France and with regard to their political and legal rights there is complete identity and equality with France<sup>55</sup>. According to a statement of the French Prime Minister, Jacques Chirac, there existed between the colonies and France common feelings and traditions as a result of which the people of these territories regarded themselves as an integrated part of French civilization<sup>56</sup>.

The NAM support for the struggle of independence of colonial people has resulted in the establishment of liberation committees in Reunion. Its left-wing political parties demand "increased autonomy"<sup>57</sup> and only a few people are in favour of complete independence.

Reunion has the status of a non-sovereign state<sup>58</sup>.

(6) SEYCHELLES

In 1504, Vasco de Gama discovered the Seychelles Islands. They were seized by the British in 1801. In 1965, three of the 85 islands - Aldabra, Farquhar and Desbroches were separated from the Seychelles and made parts of the Chagos archipelago under BIOT. In 1974, Seychelles became a stage for large-scale exercises by the CENTO powers (UK, US, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey).

54. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 1091.

55. PIM, n.26, Vol. 46, No. 6, June, 1975, p. 3.

56. Ibid.

57. The Europa Year Book, n.1, Vol. I, p. 1091.

58. Ibid.

The British suppressed the People's United Party (PUP) founded by Albert Rene in the territory. In 1964, the party was recognised as an organisation struggling for liberation by the NAM countries. To counter their influence, the colonialist encouraged J.M. Mancham, the leader of a few businessmen, who formed the Democratic Party (DP) in 1960.

The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) demanded "an end to the colonial presence"<sup>59</sup> in Seychelles and noted that in spite of the tactics of colonialists, its people were marching towards freedom.<sup>60</sup> Elections held in April, 1974, were won by DP. Mancham tried to obstruct the independence of the islands. The Havana NAM Meeting (1975) demanded total decolonization of the territory. Independence to Seychelles was ultimately granted on June 28, 1976, and Mancham became its President and Rene the Prime Minister. James Mancham attended the Colombo NAM Summit Conference<sup>61</sup> (1976). He also established relations of his country with South Africa, Saudi Arabia and the NATO powers.

Within a short span of one year the cost of living in Seychelles went up by 50%. As a result, Mancham was overthrown on June 5, 1977, and Rene assumed the Presidency. He asserted his adherence to the NAM and withdrew his country from the influence of Saudi Arabia.

Mercenary forces employed by Mancham tried to carry out coup in April, 1978, but failed. At a meeting of Progressive countries of the south-western part of the Indian Ocean held in Victoria in April, 1978, President Rene "condemned attempts by the United States, France and Britain to destabilize the countries of the area for the purpose of turning the Indian Ocean into an arsenal".<sup>62</sup> In June, 1978, the PUP changed its name to Progressive Front of the Seychelles People (PFSP) and in 1979, at the Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979). Rene called for "concerted action by Africa's progressive governments to counter imperialist threats and aggressions, particularly in the Indian Ocean area".<sup>63</sup>

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59. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 9, p. 95.

60. Ibid., p. 109.

61. Ibid., p. 248.

62. Ivo Dvorak, n. 17, n. 620.

63. Ibid., p. 621.

On February 4, 1980, the PFSP condemned "the militarization of the Indian Ocean by foreign powers under the pretext of the events in Iran and Afghanistan" and called for "the dismantling of all foreign military bases in the region, as well as withdrawal of foreign military forces from Diego Garcia and Mauritius"<sup>64</sup>. On December 10 and 11, 1980, on the occasion of its second national congress, the PFSP reasserted its solidarity with SWAPO, ANC, POLISARIO Front and the PLO, and other liberation movements. The Havana NAM meeting (1982) expressed its indignation over the increased acts of sabotage by South Africa and kidnapping of citizens of Seychelles<sup>65</sup>, because of its supports of the liberation movements. Seychelles became member of the NAM in August, 1976, and takes active part in its deliberations.

#### EXTERNAL TERRITORIES OF AUSTRALIA

##### (1) CHRISTIAN ISLANDS

The Christian Islands, covering about 135 sq. km. of land area with no indigenous population, lie 360 km. south of Java. Its administration was transferred from Singapore to the United Kingdom on January 1, 1958, pending final transfer to Australia. It became an Australian territory<sup>66</sup> on October 1, 1958. The reserves of phosphate in the island are estimated to last up to 1991.

##### (2) COCOS. (KEELING) ISLANDS

The Cocos (Keeling) Islands, consisting of 27 islands, lie 2,768 km. north-west of Perth and cover an area of 14 sq. km. Only the main islands - West, Cocos and Home are inhabited. The Australian Government purchased the territory from John Clunies-Ross on September 1, 1978, and established a Council there in July, 1979. In a referendum held on April 6, 1984, by the Australian Government, under the supervision

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64. Ibid.

65. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 9, p. 561.

66. The Europa Year Book, n. 1, Vol. I, p. 395.

67. Earlier, Cocos Islands was a British possession in 1887; under the authority of the Governors of Ceylon in 1878; was annexed to the Straits Settlement in 1886; and became a colony of Singapore in 1903. The administration was transferred to the Commonwealth of Australia on November 23, 1955; see Ibid.

of UN observers, the people by a majority voted in favour of "integration with Australia". The islanders enjoy "the rights, privileges and obligations of Australian citizens<sup>68</sup>".

### CONCLUSION

NAM has also played an important role in decolonization in the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean islands. In the Atlantic Ocean, St. Helena and Falkland Islands (Malvinas) are the British colonies. In the Indian Ocean, Comoros, though gained independence on July 6, 1975, is still under French domination. Madagascar (Malagasy) became independent from France on June 26-27, 1960, and Mauritius from Britain on March 12, 1968. Mauritius demands return of Diego Garcia from the United States. Mayotte became independent from France on July 6, 1975. It is claimed and represented by Comoros in the international organizations. It is still a French military base. Reunion has the status of a non-sovereign state of France. Seychelles became independent from Britain on June 28, 1976. Comoros and Seychelles joined the NAM in August, 1976, and Madagascar and Mauritius in September, 1973. Christmas and Cocos islands are External Territories of Australia.

## CONCLUSION

After the First World War, economic and financial losses made the victorious nations continue with and even strengthen their hold over their respective colonial possessions, while the Soviet Revolution of 1917, the founding of the League of Nations in 1919, the rise of nationalism in Asia and Africa inspired the people in the dependencies to strive for political independence.

After the Second World War, the Cold War and conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union divided the states into two blocs. Further, wars in Indo-China, Vietnam and Korea, revolt in Hungary, three-power attack on Egypt and Soviet massive assistance to Syria made the people of developing countries think of maintaining their neutrality, integrity, independence and self-determination.

The dependent states began to search for the means for getting rid of their colonial masters and for ending exploitation of their natural resources. On the one hand, colonialism was at its height, and, on the other, students from the colonies educated in Europe, brought in new ideas and identified the causes of their poverty, hunger, ignorance and backwardness with their slavery. They started struggles for liberation, while the colonial powers suppressed their freedom movements. Thus the idea of neutrality and non-alignment took root among developing countries in the 1950s and they embraced the objectives of international peace and peaceful co-existence.

Nehru, Tito, Nasser, Sukarno, U Nu and Nkrumah emerged as the leaders of the Non-aligned Movement, which was based on the objectives of peace, security and progress, which, according to them, could be achieved only through helping the newly independent countries or those struggling for independence so that they could raise their voice in the United Nations. Thus, the policy of Non-alignment became synonymous with independence.

The Non-aligned countries formed a group in the United Nations, supported by peace-loving countries. The colonial powers saw this movement as threat to their colonial possessions as freedom movements

were gaining momentum there. The newly independent nations, not willing to be involved in the Cold War, sought a better alternative in the Non-aligned Movement.

The meeting convened by Nehru in 1949, in New Delhi, to condemn the Dutch occupation of Indonesia which was attended by eighteen countries, formation of an Afro-Asian group in the United Nations in 1950, which contributed to the ending of the war in Korea in 1953, the India-China Joint Agreement, known as Panchsheel (1954), the Geneva Conference (1954), the Bandung Conference (1955) and the Brioni meeting (1956) led to the holding of the first Summit Conference of the Non-aligned Movement at Belgrade in 1961.

The agenda of the Belgrade conference included exchange of views on the international situation, an assessment of problems being faced by the dependent nations and finding ways and means for establishing international peace and security, which was possible only through respect for the rights of nations to self-determination and supporting struggles against imperialism for liquidation of colonialism. It was the primary goal of the Conference to end the differences between the independent, newly independent and dependent countries which were emerging due to claims of one country over the territory of the neighbouring country supported by the colonial powers. Therefore, the Conference emphasised "respect of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states; non-interference and non-intervention in internal affairs of states". The Conference aimed at establishing international equality and fraternity and opposed racial discrimination and apartheid. It also considered the dangerous consequences of arm race and demanded complete disarmament, banning of nuclear tests and liquidation of foreign military bases in the colonies, which hampered their progress towards independence. Thus, the Conference proclaimed "peaceful co-existence among States with different political and social systems", which was in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations. It decided to support the United Nations through cooperation in the implementation of its resolutions. The Belgrade Conference put the Non-aligned Movement on an international footing and above-mentioned objectives always remained before it at all its future conferences. The question arises

as to how far the Non-aligned Movement has been successful in the matter of speeding up the process of decolonization.

The idea of neutrality, which emerged in the 1950s, gained momentum in the 1960s and since then it has witnessed a steady growth in the popularity of the concept of Non-alignment, the acceleration of the movements of the people of newly liberated countries in support of decolonization of dependent nations and a series of victories of national liberation struggles against imperialism in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific, Atlantic, Mediterranean and Indian Ocean islands. There are still a few territories which are struggling for independence. However, the impact of the Non-aligned Movement on decolonization has been so impressive that the Colonial Powers have been compelled to accede to its demands due to the pressure of the world opinion.

A clear idea of the extent to which decolonization has taken place after the first Conference of Non-aligned countries at Belgrade in 1961 and the growth in the membership of the Movement may be had from the figures given in the following paragraphs.

In the Far East and Australasia, of the 18 nations, 14 had achieved their independence before September, 1961, and 4 (Bangladesh, Brunei, Maldives and Singapore) did so between 1964 and 1985, and 16 of these nations joined the Non-aligned Movement. None of the countries of the region is any more a colony.

In the Middle East and North Africa, of the 22 countries, 13 had become independent before September, 1961, and 8 (Algeria, Bahrain, Malta, Oman, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (Aden), Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Yemen Arab Republic (Sana'a) achieved freedom between 1961 and 1971. And as many as 21, out of 22 of these states of the region, have joined the Non-aligned Movement between 1961 and 1979.

In Africa, of the 45 dependent countries, 20 had become independent before September, 1961, and 22 (Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda,



Rio Muni, Sao Tome and Principe, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe) achieved their freedom between 1961 and 1978, and 42 joined the Non-aligned Movement between 1961 and 1979. Western Sahara is claimed by Morocco and Mauritania, Namibia is illegally occupied by South Africa and is struggling for independence. There are freedom movements in South Africa also for its liberation from White domination.

In Latin America, of the 22 countries, 18 states were sovereign before September, 1961, and all the four Latin American colonies (Belize, Guyana, Nicaragua and Surinam) became independent between 1966 and 1981. Of the 22 states, 11 became members of the Non-aligned Movement between 1961 and 1983.

In the Caribbean region, of the 20 islands, 11 states (Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Barmuda, Dominica and Haiti, Grenada, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and Grenadines, St. Kitts-Nevis (St. Christopher-Nevis) and Trinidad and Tobago) became independent between 1961 and 1982. Of the 11 states, 6 became members of the Non-aligned Movement between 1970 and 1983. Nine nations (Guadeloupe and Martinique under France; Anguila, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Puerto Rico, and Turks and Caicos under Britain; and US Virgin Islands under the United States) are either struggling for liberation or have gained self-governing or autonomous status.

In the Pacific region, of the 33 states, 20 states (American Samoa, Banaba (Ocean Islands), Caroline, Cook Islands, Fiji, French Polynesia, Kiribati (Gilbert), Marshalls, Northern Mariana Islands, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Hebrides (Vanuatu), Niue Islands, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Society Islands (Tahiti), Solomon, Tonga, Tuvalu and Western Samoa) achieved independence between 1962 and 1986. Of the remaining 13 islands, 4 (Eastern Island under Chile; Timor under Indonesia; Tokelau under New Zealand; and Torres Strait under Australia) are struggling for independence, and 2 nations, Hawaii and Irian Jaya, have become provinces of the United States and Indonesia respectively and 7 nations (External Territories of Australia, France and the United States; Federated States of Micronesia and Guam under the United States; Norfolk Islands under Australia; and Pitcarin under

Britain) are still colonies. Of the 33 nations, only one (Vanuatu) has become member of the Non-aligned Movement.

In the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, of the 10 colonies, Madagascar had achieved independence in 1960. Of the remaining, 4 states (Comoros, Mauritius, Mayotte and Seychelles) became independent between 1968 and 1976, and 4 joined the Non-aligned Movement between 1973 and 1986. Of the remaining 5 territories, 4 (Christmas Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Falkland, and St. Helena under Britain ) are colonies, and Reunion is a non-sovereign state of France.

Thus, out of 168 territories of the whole world under study, 66 countries had become independent before September, 1961, and 102 were dependent nations. All the 102 countries achieved independence and became members of the Non-aligned Movement between 1961 and 1986.

The above findings reveal the rapid growth of membership of the Non-aligned Movement from 25 in the first Summit (1961) to 104 in the eighth Summit (1986), including the PLO, which represents the people of Palestine, and SWAPO, which represents the people of Namibia. Further, number of observer and guest countries and organizations, which participated in NAM conferences and meetings, had also continued to grow from 3 in 1961 to 23 states and large number of UN organizations and political parties.

The movement of non-alignment gave a new orientation to international relations. The criteria for non-alignment were defined during the preparations for the 1961 Belgrade Conference and were further spelled out in Cairo in 1964. According to these criteria, in order to qualify as non-aligned, a country must (a) conduct an independent policy in conformity with the principles of active and peaceful co-existence; (b) support the struggles for nations liberation; (c) not join any multilateral military alliances created for the purpose of furthering great power rivalries; (d) not belong to bilateral military alliances with the great powers; and (e) not allow foreign military bases to be established on its national territory. These criteria drew a demarcation line between the non-aligned

countries and the followers of the creed of bloc politics. The dependent nations were attracted and inspired by these principles. They cooperated with the Non-aligned Movement and became independent.

A view on the political developments in all the colonies in the world makes it clear that certain countries which had earlier joined the military-political alliances were moving towards the policy of non-alignment because they saw in this policy a way to strengthen their own position and to protect their interests. Further, the newly independent nations found an umbrella under the Non-aligned Movement. Thus, most of the developing countries have joined the Movement and the increasing number of its members has proved the effectiveness of NAM principles regarding decolonization.

The decolonization process ignited by the Non-aligned Movement had cautioned the Colonial Powers and they were forced by national liberation movements in the colonies to "go back". The Colonial Powers were not easily subdued and an international programme was needed. NAM was the only hope for the colonial people. Therefore, Non-aligned Movement sought settlement of the major international problems supporting the national demands, such as, those of Palestine, Namibia and others. They openly condemned the colonialist policy. Further, at the same time, they realised the necessity of settling their bilateral problems in another place and at another time. They, time and again, appealed to the great powers to refrain from following their selfish expansionist policies. Now, NAM members are mostly those which have been decolonized since the Second World War. They have gained majority in the United Nations and are able to assert their own views and objectives regarding freedom struggles in various international forums. NAM has expressed readiness to cooperate and carry on constructive dialogue with all those who are willing to establish a new system of international political relations.

NAM serves the purpose of decolonization in two ways: one passing resolutions against colonialism and, thus, levelling the world opinion in its favour blocking the colonialists' interests, and second in the United Nations and other international bodies, in which NAM countries are in majority. Since NAM has become a vital

force against the colonialists' designs, the Colonial Powers have been threatening to harm the United Nations. It was the NAM group, which any how has maintained the balance, on the one hand, and has been supporting decolonization in the world, on the other, maintaining international peace and peaceful co-existence.

From the foregoing account of the role played by the Non-aligned Movement in bringing about decolonization, it may be concluded that it inspired the people of former colonies to fight for their emancipation: it lent moral and political support to such struggles through its resolutions and declarations. The Non-aligned Movement also extended indirect assistance to struggles against colonialism through the part played by its member nations in the United Nations and other international forums, and by urging upon them to render material support to these struggles. It may, therefore, be stated that the Non-aligned Movement has been able to contribute substantially to the process of the eradication of colonialism in spite of the handicaps from which it suffers, viz. the fact that it has no agency to be in a position to enforce its resolutions, that many of its member nations have close ties with one super power or the other and that many of them are involved in mutual disputes over one issue or another.

However, in spite of these limitations, the Non-aligned Movement has emerged as a potent force which has contributed and is likely to contribute to the process of decolonization.

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## APPENDIX I

### FIRST SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

(BELGRADE, SEPTEMBER 1-6, 1961)

#### PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

- |                |               |                          |
|----------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Afghanistan | 9. Ethiopia   | 17. Morocco              |
| 2. Algeria     | 10. Ghana     | 18. Nepal                |
| 3. Burma       | 11. Guinea    | 19. Saudi Arabia         |
| 4. Cambodia    | 12. India     | 20. Somalia              |
| 5. Ceylon      | 13. Indonesia | 21. Sudan                |
| 6. Congo       | 14. Iraq      | 22. Tunisia              |
| 7. Cuba        | 15. Lebanon   | 23. United Arab Republic |
| 8. Cyprus      | 16. Mali      | 24. Yemen                |
|                |               | 25. Yugoslavia           |

#### OBSERVERS

COUNTRIES: Bolivia, Brazil and Ecuador.

## APPENDIX II

### SECOND SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

(CAIRO, OCTOBER 5-10, 1964)

#### PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

- |                                |                |                  |
|--------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1. Afghanistan                 | 17. Ghana      | 33. Nigeria      |
| 2. Algeria                     | 18. Guinea     | 34. Saudi Arabia |
| 3. Angola                      | 19. India      | 35. Senegal      |
| 4. Burma                       | 20. Indonesia  | 36. Sierraleone  |
| 5. Burundi                     | 21. Iraq       | 37. Somalia      |
| 6. Cambodia                    | 22. Jordan     | 38. Sudan        |
| 7. Cambodia                    | 23. Kenya      | 39. Syria        |
| 8. Cameroon                    | 24. Kuwait     | 40. Tanganyika   |
| 9. Central African<br>Republic | 25. Laos       | 41. Togo         |
| 10. Ceylon                     | 26. Lebanon    | 42. Tunisia      |
| 11. Chad                       | 27. Liberia    | 43. Uganda       |
| 12. Congo (Brazzaville)        | 28. Libya      | 44. UAR          |
| 13. Cuba                       | 28. Malawi     | 45. Yemen        |
| 14. Cyprus                     | 29. Mali       | 46. Yugoslavia   |
| 15. Dahomey                    | 30. Mauritania | 47. Zambia       |
| 16. Ethiopia                   | 31. Morocco    |                  |
|                                | 32. Nepal      |                  |

#### OBSERVERS

COUNTRIES: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Finland, Jamaica, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela.

ORGANIZATIONS: UAU, Arab League, and Many national liberation movements. and political parties.

APPENDIX IIITHIRD SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

( LUSAKA, SEPTEMBER 8-10, 1970 )

PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

- |                                      |                |                                |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Afghanistan                       | 19. India      | 39. Sierraleone                |
| 2. Algeria                           | 20. Indonesia  | 40. Singapore                  |
| 3. Botswana                          | 21. Iraq       | 41. Somalia                    |
| 4. Burundi                           | 22. Jamaica    | 42. Sudan                      |
| 5. Cameroon                          | 23. Jordan     | 43. Swaziland                  |
| 6. Central African<br>Republic       | 24. Kenya      | 44. Syria                      |
| 7. Ceylon                            | 25. Kuwait     | 45. Tanzania                   |
| 8. Chad                              | 26. Laos       | 46. Togo                       |
| 9. Congo (Democratic<br>Republic of) | 27. Lebanon    | 47. Trinidad and<br>Tobago     |
| 10. Congo (People's<br>Republic of)  | 28. Lesotho    | 48. Tunisia                    |
| 11. Cuba                             | 29. Liberia    | 49. Uganda                     |
| 12. Cyprus                           | 30. Libya      | 50. United Arab<br>Republic    |
| 13. Equatorial Guinea                | 31. Malaysia   | 51. Yemen Arab<br>Republic     |
| 14. Ethiopia                         | 32. Mali       | 52. Republic of<br>South Yemen |
| 15. Gabon                            | 33. Mauritania | 53. Yugoslavia                 |
| 16. Ghana                            | 34. Morocco    | 54. Zambia                     |
| 17. Guinea                           | 35. Nepal      |                                |
| 18. Guyana                           | 36. Nigeria    |                                |
|                                      | 37. Rwanda     |                                |
|                                      | 38. Senegal    |                                |

OBSERVERS

COUNTRIES : Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Venezuela and South Vietnam.

ORGANISATIONS : Organization of African Unity, African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), FRELIMO (Mozambique), FLCS (French Somaliland), MPLA (Angola), MOLINACO (Comora Islands), Palestine Liberation Movement, ZAPU (Zimbabwe), ZANU (Zimbabwe).

APPENDIX IVFOURTH SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

(ALGIERS, SEPTEMBER 5-9, 1973)

PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

- |                              |                 |  |
|------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| 1. Afghanistan               | 26. Guyana      | 52. Qatar                                |
| 2. Algeria                   | 27. India       | 53. Rwanda                               |
| 3. Argentina                 | 28. Indonesia   | 54. Saudi Arabia                         |
| 4. Bahrain                   | 29. Iraq        | 55. Senegal                              |
| 5. Bangladesh                | 30. Ivory Coast | 56. Sierra-Leone                         |
| 6. Bhutan                    | 31. Jamaica     | 57. Singapore                            |
| 7. Botswana                  | 32. Jordan      | 58. Somalia                              |
| 8. Burma                     | 33. Kenya       | 59. South Vietnam                        |
| 9. Burundi                   | 34. Kuwait      | (Provisional Revolutionary Government)   |
| 10. Cambodia                 | 35. Laos        | 60. Sri Lanka                            |
| 11. Cameroon                 | 36. Lebanon     | 61. Sudan                                |
| 12. Central African Republic | 37. Lesotho     | 62. Swaziland                            |
| 13. Chad                     | 38. Liberia     | 63. Syria                                |
| 14. Chile                    | 39. Libya       | 64. Tanzania                             |
| 15. Congo                    | 40. Madagascar  | 65. Togo                                 |
| 16. Cuba                     | 41. Malaysia    | 66. Trinidad and Tobago                  |
| 17. Cyprus                   | 42. Mali        | 67. Tunisia                              |
| 18. Dahomey                  | 43. Malta       | 68. Uganda                               |
| 19. Egypt                    | 44. Mauritania  | 69. United Arab Emirates                 |
| 20. Equatorial Guinea        | 45. Mauritius   | 70. Upper Volta                          |
| 21. Ethiopia                 | 46. Morocco     | 71. Yemen (Arab Republic)                |
| 22. Gabon                    | 47. Nepal       | 72. Yemen (People's Democratic Republic) |
| 23. Gambia                   | 48. Niger       | 73. Yugoslavia                           |
| 24. Ghana                    | 49. Nigeria     | 74. Zaire                                |
| 25. Guinea                   | 50. Oman        | 75. Zambia                               |
|                              | 51. Peru        |  |

OBSERVERS

COUNTRIES : Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Finland, Mexico, Panama, Sweden, Uruguay and Venezuela.

ORGANIZATIONS : -People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA),  
 -National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA),  
 -Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO),  
 -Party of African Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC),  
 -South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO),  
 -African National Congress of South Africa (ANC),  
 -Pan-African Congress of South Africa (PAC),  
 -Zimbabwe African People's Union - Rhodesia (ZAPU),  
 -National Movement for the Liberation of the Comoro Islands (MOLINACO), - P.L.O.,  
 -Front for the Liberation of the Coast of Somalia (FLCS),  
 -Liberation Movement of Puerto Rico (Socialist Party of Puerto Rico).

APPENDIX VFIFTH SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES  
( COLOMBO, AUGUST 16 - 19, 1976)PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

1. Afghanistan	30. Indonesia	59. Panama
2. Algeria	31. Iraq	60. Peru
3. Angola	32. Ivory Coast	61. Qatar
4. Argentina	33. Jamaica	62. Rwanda
5. Bahrain	34. Jordan	63. Sao Tome and Principe
6. Bangladesh	35. Kampuchea	64. Saudi Arabia
7. Benin	36. Kenya	65. Senegal
8. Bhutan	37. Korea (People's Democratic Republic of)	66. Seychelles
9. Botswana	38. Kuwait	67. Sierra Leone
10. Burma	39. Laos	68. Singapore
11. Burundi	40. Lebanon	69. Somalia
12. Cameroon	41. Lesotho	70. Sri Lanka
13. Cape Verde	42. Liberia	71. Sudan
14. Central African Republic	43. Libya	72. Swaziland
15. Chad	44. Malagasy (Madagascar)	73. Syria
16. Comoros	45. Malawi	74. Tanzania
17. Congo (People's Republic of)	46. Malaysia	75. Togo
18. Cuba	47. Maldives	76. Trinidad and Tobago
19. Cyprus	48. Mali	77. Tunisia
20. Egypt	49. Malta	78. Uganda
21. Equatorial Guinea	50. Mauritania	79. United Arab Emirates
22. Ethiopia	51. Mauritius	80. Upper Volta
23. Gabon	52. Morocco	81. Vietnam (Socialist Republic of)
24. Gambia	53. Mozambique	82. Yemen (Arab Republic)
25. Ghana	54. Nepal	83. Yemen (People's Democratic Republic of)
26. Guinea	55. Niger	
27. Guinea-Bissau	56. Nigeria	
28. Guyana	57. Oman	
29. India	58. Palestine Liberation Organization	84. Yugoslavia
		85. Zaire
		86. Zambia
		87. Belize (British Honduras)

OBSERVERS

COUNTRIES : Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, El Salvador, Finland, Grenada, Mexico, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Colombia, Ecuador, Philippines, Portugal, Venezuela.

ORGANIZATIONS: -United Nations; Arab League; O.A.U., Islamic Conference;  
-Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO);  
-African National Congress (ANC) (Zimbabwe-Rhodesia);  
-Pan-African Congress of Azania (Namibia) - (PACA);  
-Movement for the Liberation of Djibouti (MLD);  
-FLSC; - SWAPO; - ZANU;  
-Socialist Party of Puerto Rico.



APPENDIX VISIXTH SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES  
( HAVANA, SEPTEMBER 3 - 9, 1979 )PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

- |                            |   |  |
|----------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Afghanistan             | 33. Iran                                    | 63. Panama   |
| 2. Algeria                 | 34. Iraq                                    | 64. Peru   |
| 3. Angola                  | 35. Ivory Coast                             | 65. Qatar  |
| 4. Argentina               | 36. Jamaica                                 | 66. Rwanda   |
| 5. Bahrain                 | 37. Jordan                                  | 67. Sao Tome and Principe                          |
| 6. Bangladesh              | 38. Kenya                                   | 68. Senegal  |
| 7. Benin                   | 39. Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea    | 69. Seychelles                                     |
| 8. Bhutan                  | 40. Kuwait                                  | 70. Sierra Leone                                   |
| 9. Bolivia                 | 41. Laos                                    | 71. Singapore                                      |
| 10. Botswana               | 42. Lebanon                                 | 72. Somalia  |
| 11. Burma                  | 43. Lesotho                                 | 73. South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) |
| 12. Burundi                | 44. Liberia                                 | 74. Sri Lanka                                      |
| 13. Cameroon               | 45. Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,                 | 75. Sudan  |
| 14. Cape Verde             | 46. Madagascar                              | 76. Surinam  |
| 15. Central African Empire | 47. Malawi                                  | 77. Swaziland                                      |
| 16. Comoros                | 48. Malaysia                                | 78. Syria  |
| 17. Congo                  | 49. Maldives                                | 79. Tanzania                                       |
| 18. Cuba                   | 50. Mali                                    | 80. Togo   |
| 19. Cyprus                 | 51. Malta                                   | 81. Trinidad and Tobago                            |
| 20. Djibouti               | 52. Mauritania                              | 82. Tunisia  |
| 21. Egypt                  | 53. Mauritius                               | 83. Uganda   |
| 22. Ethiopia               | 54. Morocco                                 | 84. United Arab Emirates                           |
| 23. Gabon                  | 55. Mozambique                              | 85. Upper Volta                                    |
| 24. Gambia                 | 56. Nepal                                   | 86. Vietnam  |
| 25. Ghana                  | 57. Nicaragua                               | 87. Arab Republic of Yemen                         |
| 26. Grenada                | 58. Niger                                   | 88. People's Democratic Republic of Yemen          |
| 27. Guinea                 | 59. Nigeria                                 | 89. Yugoslavia                                     |
| 28. Guinea-Bissau          | 60. Oman                                    | 90. Zaire  |
| 29. Equatorial Guinea      | 61. Pakistan                                | 91. Zambia   |
| 30. Guyana                 | 62. Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) | 92. Zimbabwe                                       |
| 31. India                  |   |  |
| 32. Indonesia              |   |  |

COUNTRY WITH SPECIAL STATUS - Belize

OBSERVERS AND GUESTS

COUNTRIES : Austria, Barbados\*, Brazil\*, Colombia\*, Costa Rica\*, Dominica\*, Ecuador\*, El Salvador\*, Finland, Mexico\*, Philippines\*, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, St. Lucia\*, Uruguay\*, Venezuela\*.

ORGANIZATIONS: Islamic Conference\*, League of Arab States\*, Puerto Rican Socialist Party\*, Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Special Committee against Apartheid, United Nations Commission for Namibia, Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), Latin American Economic System (SEL), Latin American Energy Organisation (OLADE), AAPSO\*, ANC\*, OAU\*, PAC\*, UNCTAD, UNIDO, UNESCO, FAO and UN\*.

APPENDIX VIISEVENTH SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

• (NEW DELHI, MARCH 7-12, 1983)

PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

- |                          |                   |                             |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Afghanistan           | 34. Guinea-Bissau | 67. P.L.O.                  |
| 2. Algeria               | 35. Guyana        | 68. Panama                  |
| 3. Angola                | 36. India         | 69. Peru                    |
| 4. Argentina             | 37. Indonesia     | 70. Qatar                   |
| 5. Bahamas               | 38. Iran          | 71. Rwanda                  |
| 6. Bahrain               | 39. Iraq          | 72. Saint Lucia             |
| 7. Bangladesh            | 40. Ivory Coast   | 73. Sao Tome and Principe   |
| 8. Barbados              | 41. Jamaica       | 74. Saudi Arabia            |
| 9. Belize                | 42. Jordan        | 75. Senegal                 |
| 10. Benin                | 43. Kampuchea     | 76. Seychelles              |
| 11. Bhutan               | 44. Kenya         | 77. Sierra Leone            |
| 12. Bolivia              | 45. Kuwait        | 78. Singapore               |
| 13. Botswana             | 46. Laos          | 79. Somalia                 |
| 14. Burundi              | 47. Lebanon       | 80. SWAPO                   |
| 15. Cape Verde           | 48. Lesotho       | 81. Sri Lanka               |
| 16. Central African Rep. | 49. Liberia       | 82. Sudan                   |
| 17. Chad                 | 50. Libya         | 83. Surinam                 |
| 18. Colombia             | 51. Madagascar    | 84. Swaziland               |
| 19. Comoros              | 52. Malawi        | 85. Syrian Arab Republic    |
| 20. Congo                | 53. Malaysia      | 86. Togo                    |
| 21. Cuba                 | 54. Maldives      | 87. Trinidad and Tobago     |
| 22. Cyprus               | 55. Mali          | 88. Tunisia                 |
| 23. Korea (DPR)          | 56. Malta         | 89. Uganda                  |
| 24. Djibouti             | 57. Mauritania    | 90. United Arab Emirates    |
| 25. Ecuador              | 58. Mauritius     | 91. United Rep. of Cameroon |
| 26. Egypt                | 59. Morocco       | 92. United Rep. of Tanzania |
| 27. Equatorial Guinea    | 60. Mozambique    | 93. Upper Volta             |
| 28. Ethiopia             | 61. Nepal         | 94. Vanuatu                 |
| 29. Gabon                | 62. Nicaragua     | 95. Vietnam                 |
| 30. Gambia               | 63. Niger         | 96. Yemen Arab Republic     |
| 31. Ghana                | 64. Nigeria       | 97. Yemen (PDRY)            |
| 32. Grenada              | 65. Oman          | 98. Yugoslavia              |
| 33. Guinea               | 66. Pakistan      | 99. Zaire                   |
|                          |                   | 100. Zambia                 |
|                          |                   | 101. Zimbabwe               |

OBSERVERS\* AND GUESTS

COUNTRIES : Antigua and Barbuda\*, Austria, Brazil\*, Costa Rica\*, Dominica\*, Dominican Rep., El Salvador\*, Mexico\*, PNG\*, Philippines\*, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, The Holy See, Uruguay\* and Venezuela\*.

ORGANIZATIONS: League of Arab States\*, Organization of Islamic Conference\*, ANC\*, AAPSO\*, OAU\*, PACA\*, SPPR\*, UN\*, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, International Committee of the Red Cross, International Conference on the Question of Palestine, UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, UN Commissioner for Namibia, UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, UN Council for Namibia, UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, UN Special Committee on Decolonization, World Food Council, WHO, FAO, UNCTAD, UNDP, UNESCO, and UNIDO.

Note: Antigua and Barbuda and Costa Rica did not attend.

APPENDIX VIII

EIGHTH SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES  
 (HARARE, SEPTEMBER 1 - 6, 1986)  
PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

1. Afghanistan	35. Grenada	69. Peru
2. Algeria	36. Guinea-Bissau	70. Qatar
3. Angola	37. Guyana	71. Rwanda
4. Argentina	38. India	72. Saint Lucia
5. Bahamas	39. Indonesia	73. Sao Tome and Principe
6. Bahrain	40. Iran	74. Saudi Arabia
7. Bangladesh	41. Iraq	75. Senegal
8. Barbados	42. Jamaica	76. Seychelles
9. Belize	43. Jordan	77. Sierra Leone
10. Benin	44. Kenya	78. Singapore
11. Bhutan	45. Kuwait	79. Somalia
12. Bolivia	46. Laos	80. SWAPO
13. Botswana	47. Lebanon	81. Sri Lanka
14. Burkina Faso	48. Lesotho	82. Sudan
15. Burundi	49. Liberia	83. Surinam
16. Cameroon	50. Libya	84. Swaziland
17. Cape Verde	51. Madagascar	85. Syria
18. Central African Rep.	52. Malawi	86. Togo
19. Chad	53. Malaysia	87. Trinidad and Tobago
20. Colombia	54. Maldives	88. Tunisia
21. Comoros	55. Mali	89. Uganda
22. Congo	56. Malta	90. United Arab Emirates
23. Cote d'Ivoire	57. Mauritania	91. United Rep. of Tanzania
24. Cuba	58. Mauritius	92. Vanuatu
25. Cyprus	59. Morocco	93. Vietnam
26. Korea (DPR)	60. Mozambique	94. Yemen Arab Republic
27. Djibouti	61. Nepal	95. Yemen (PDRY)
28. Ecuador	62. Nicaragua	96. Yugoslavia
29. Egypt	63. Niger	97. Zaire
30. Equatorial Guinea	64. Nigeria	98. Zambia
31. Ethiopia	65. Oman	99. Zimbabwe
32. Gabon	66. Pakistan	100. Guinea* )
33. Gambia	67. PLO	101. Ivory Coast* ) Did not
34. Ghana	68. Panama	102. Kampuchea* ) join
		103. Upper Volta* )

OBSERVERS\*AND GUESTS

COUNTRIES : Antigua and Barbuda\*, Australia, Austria, Brazil\*, Costa Rica\*, Dominica\*, Dominican Republic, El Salvador\*, Finland, Greece, Holy See, Mexico\*, PNG\*, Philippines\*, Mongolia, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay\* and Venezuela\*.

ORGANIZATIONS: Fron de Liberation Nationale Kanak et Socialiste\*, League of Arab States\*, Organization of Islamic Conference\*, ANC\*, AAPSO\*, OAU\*, PACA\*, SPPR\*, UN\*, IFAD, UNFAO, UNCTAD, UNDP, UNESCO, WHO, Commonwealth Secretariat, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Economic Community of West African States, Information Committee of the Red Cross, International Conference on the Question of Palestine, International Fund for Agricultural Development, Latin American Economic System, Preferential Trade Area, Southern African Development Coordination Conference, UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean, UN Committee for Namibia, UN Council for Namibia and UNCEIRPP.

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